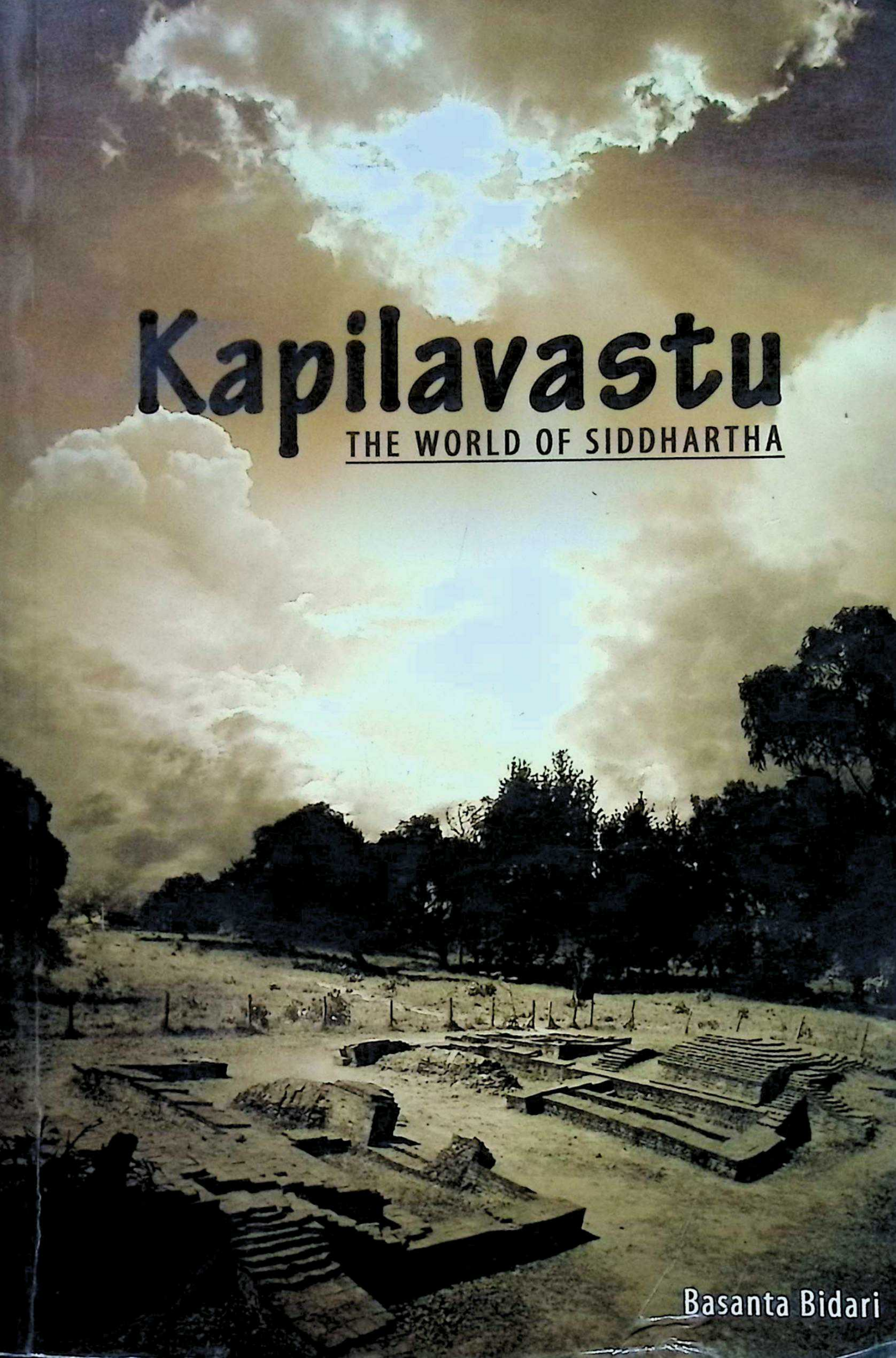
Kapilavastu

THE WORLD OF SIDDHARTHA



Basanta Bidari

KAPILAVASTU

The World of Siddhartha

Anish Bhatta

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The World of Siddhartha

Basanta Bidari

Foreword by
Dr. Christoph Cueppers
Lumbini, 2004

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© Basanta Bidari
Tel: 00977-71-580130 (Res.)
Email: asokanpillar@yahoo.com

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In this country there is no government or people; it is just a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people. In this place where stand the ruins of the palace of Suddhodana, there is a picture of the Prince-apparent and his mother, (supposed to be) taken at the time of his miraculous conception. The Prince is represented as descending towards his mother, riding on a white elephant.

(Fa-hsien in Kapilavastu in the 5th century)

Dedicated to my mother, whose inspiration and untiring patience in guiding me towards, what she intuitively knew was right for me has made me what I am today. And if, through this book, I contribute in the humble way towards bringing seekers of Buddhahood closer to Lumbini and its sanctity I consecrate this merit to the significance of motherhood in the lives of all sentient beings.

Basanta

Foreword

Basanta Bidari, the author of the present volume, is a name known to many from his previous illuminating book titled *Lumbini: A Haven of Sacred Refuge* (2002, 2nd impression: 2003), on the birthplace of Gautama Buddha. This new study is on a similarly important Buddhist site, namely Kapilavastu, the place where the Buddha spent the early years of his life. It is based on material collected from various sources, which the author recapitulates and discusses in order to provide the English-reading public with a clearer picture of this ancient site, located in the Tarai of present-day Nepal. The text presented here will be of great use to pilgrims, tourists and students of Buddhist studies. It provides rich background information to those who are visiting Kapilavastu or approaching it as a subject for the first time, while simultaneously offering sundry points for scholarly discussion among those already familiar with it. In particular, five important sites in and around Kapilavastu are introduced, the history of their discovery recounted, and the archaeological excavations of them - if any - described, with relevant passages being quoted from Buddhist literature. As the author has pointed out, there are at least 136 archaeological sites in this part of the Tarai that have been identified by the joint archaeological team from Nepal and Italy, and it is all but certain that many more of these sites will be excavated by professional teams in the future so as to provide us with additional facts and details about the area, which must have been quite densely populated at the time of the Buddha. The author modestly notes that his study is not the final word on but a mere introduction to the subject. If so, it is an introduction that takes us to the heart of the matter. We have very reason to be indebted to the author for his efforts and care in producing this study and to congratulate him on the result. This volume is sure to be received with the same interest as his former work on Lumbini.

Dr. Christoph Cueppers
Director,
LIRI, Lumbini

Preface to the Third Edition

This is the third edition of 'Kapilavastu: The World of Siddhartha'. It was first published in November 2004 has been accepted as the most comprehensive publication of its kind, containing the detail history and archaeology of Kapilavastu.

I thank all my friends, well-wishers and scholars who inspired me in this endeavour. I have received valuable assistance and encouragement from them in the publication of this edition. I wish to record my acknowledgement and indebtedness particularly to K.P. Acharya (former D.G., Department of Archaeology), S. Sharma (G.M., Lumbini Hokke Hotel, Lumbini) Dr. Christoph Cueppers (Director, LIRI, Lumbini) Raju Bharati (LDT, Lumbini) and many other friends for their continuous support i have been receiving all these years.

Basanta

Preface to the First Edition

The subject matter of this book is the ancient kingdom of Kapilavastu. Once ruled by the Sakyas, it has a very special significance in the Buddhist world. Siddhartha, who is simply known as the Buddha, was born, grew up, gained an education, spent his young adulthood, married and had a son in this kingdom.

Kapilavastu, historically and archaeologically, is an important district of western Nepal. Recent explorations have uncovered 136 or more archaeological sites in this district. Many of these sites evoke frequent associations with The Buddha. This book will deal with five such sites where archaeological work has been carried out and is very much talked about.

This book has a strong archaeological focus, reflecting my 28 years of experience gained from living and working as an archaeologist. I do not claim to have tapped new information or to offer an innovative analysis of Kapilavastu. I am fully aware of the limitations of my work, specifically the lack of attention paid to the concrete archaeological phenomena and the profound dependence on published literary sources.

This is only a preliminary book on Kapilavastu. The basic thought behind it is to offer precise information to its readers, whether pilgrims, tourists, students of archaeology, or indeed anyone who is attracted to this holy land of the Buddha.

Basanta

Acknowledgement

The first impulse for writing this book came from Nepalese and foreign friends who repeatedly and urgently asked me to published a book on Kapilavastu. I have attempted to satisfy this request. I take this opportunity to record my deep sense of gratitude to all those who have guided, inspired or sustained me in this endeavour.

Instead of giving a detailed and lengthy discussion of theories, I have tried to concentrate upon a few points that seemed to me to be of special archaeological and historical importance, and to express my thoughts as briefly and succinctly as possible.

Among those persons I may mention by name, I wish to express a feeling of deep gratitude to Kosh Prasad Acharya (D.G., Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu) who, with indefatigable zeal, helped me to prepare this book. Without his keen interest in its subject matter and his friendly personal interest, I should hardly have found the courage to publish it. His critical suggestions have proved to be very helpful and valuable.

As to the style of the book, it has been, of course, a serious drawback that I have had to write it in a language that is not my native tongue. I should hardly have overcome this obstacle without the help of Mr. Philip Pierce (Nepal Research Centre, Kathmandu). He has edited the whole manuscript and given his kind advice on all linguistic and stylistic questions. I am very much indebted to him for many valuable and pertinent remarks.

I owe an immense debt to Subash Sharma (G.M., Lumbini Hokke Hotel, Lumbini), who from the beginning inspired me to write this book. His co-operation has been manifold, and without his generous assistance, this work in its present shape would have remained merely a dream.

This note of acknowledgements would be incomplete without a word of thanks to my learned scholar, Dr. Christoph Cueppers (Director, Lumbini International Research Institute, Lumbini) who has always shown more than a casual interest in the publication of this book. I am extremely grateful to him for favouring me with his gracious FOREWORD.

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   Gotihawa: CLIIA and CLIIB.
   Niglihawa: CLIXA, CLIXB and CLVIIIB.
   Kapilavastu II: XVI, XXIVA, XXIVB, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXVIIB, XXXVIIIA, XXXVIIIB, XLI, XLIIIA, XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVIIA, XLVIII, XLIX, L and LI.

2. Rijal, B.K.
   Kapilavastu III: 3, 4 and 5.

3. Sakya, Aravinda
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4. E. Monti
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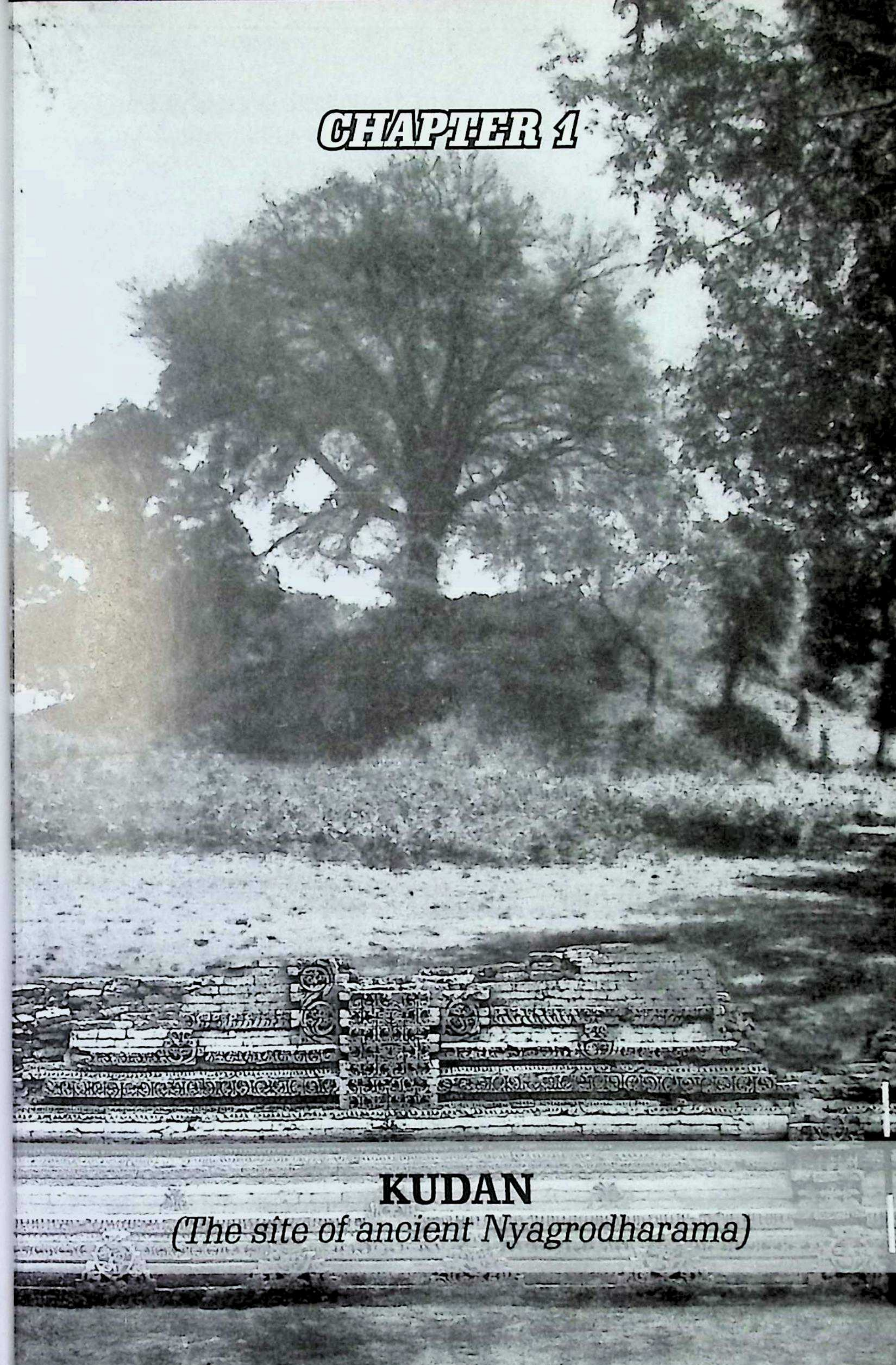
CHAPTER 1



KUDAN

(The site of ancient Nyagrodharama)

The Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu:

King Suddhodana was overwhelmed with joy when he heard that his son, Siddhartha, had attained "Enlightenment." He immediately sent the Buddha's childhood friend Kaludayi and Channa the charioteer to the Bamboo Forest Monastery at Rajgriha, where his son was staying. It took almost three weeks for them to reach there. The king asked them to meet with the Buddha and request him to return to Kapilavastu, his hometown. The Bamboo Forest Monastery received the two very special guests, and their presence imparted special warmth to it.

The Buddha had been away from Kapilavastu for more than seven years and had received no news of his family or friends during this time. He took a seat with Kaludayi and Channa, and for many hours asked about his father the king, the queen and his wife, Yasodhara, as well as his brother and sister, Nanda and Sundari Nanda, his friends and his son Rahula. The Buddha realized how many years had passed since he had seen Kaludayi by his face, whose youthfulness was replaced by the lines of age. Channa had also aged during this time.

Kaludayi explained to the Buddha that the king's physical health had declined in the years that the Buddha had been away, and although still mentally alert, he was not as robust as he once was. The king had several talented advisors to help him with the running of the kingdom, including Kaludayi himself, who now held considerable rank at the court and was one of King Suddhodana's most trusted advisors.

Queen Gautami was as robust as ever, and Prince Nanda was now a young man and engaged to a young noblewoman named Janapada Kalyani. Nanda was very handsome and was well liked, but the king was concerned that Nanda still lacked the stability and maturity required to become king. Sundari Nanda, the Buddha's sister, had developed into a beautiful, graceful woman and would soon be married. The Buddha learned that his wife, Yasodhara, had given up all adornment on the day the Buddha departed. She dressed simply and had sold all her precious possessions and given money to the poor and needy. When she learned that the Buddha ate only one meal a day she also began this practice. She spent each day with the support of Queen Gautami helping the sick and the poor. The Buddha's son, Rahula, had grown into a healthy and handsome boy of seven. His black eyes flashed with intelligence and determination. His grandparents dearly cherished him, just as they had cherished Siddhartha as a boy.

The Buddha's heart was warmed by the news that his dear friends brought from Kapilavastu. Kaludayi finally asked the Buddha when he might return to Kapilavastu, and the Buddha replied, "I will return after the rainy season. I do not want to leave these young bhikkhus alone here until they are more firmly anchored in their practice. After this period of retreat, I will feel more comfortable about leaving them. But Kaludayi and Channa, why don't you remain here with me for a month or so to taste this life? Still you will have time to return to Kapilavastu and inform the king that I will return after the monsoon season." The Buddha further said that he would not stay at the palace and requested his father to prepare outside accommodations.

When the rainy season came to an end and the retreat was finished, the Buddha summoned Kaludayi and Channa and suggested they leave for Kapilavastu to announce the Buddha's imminent arrival. They proceeded to make preparations for their immediate departure. During the retreat Kaludayi had become a bhikkhu of calm and serene bearing, and although he looked forward to announcing the Buddha's return, he regretted having to leave the sanctuary of the Bamboo Forest after such a brief stay.

After three weeks of journey, Kaludayi and Channa arrived in Kapilavastu and announced to the king and queen and Yasodhara the news of the imminent arrival of the Buddha, and then taking his begging bowl, the former set off alone to meet the Buddha on his way to Kapilavastu. He walked with the slow, serene steps of a bhikkhu. On his way, he announced to everyone that Prince Siddhartha had found "the Way" and was returning home soon.

According to the *Jatakattha katha nidana,* the Buddha left Rajgriha on the full moon day of Falguna (February/March). The distance to be covered was 60 *yojana* (1 *yojana* = about 8 miles), and it took almost two months to arrive in Kapilavastu (Bhikkhu Dharmarakchhita, 133: 1951).

King Suddhodana decorated the city with flags and banners, and the event was proclaimed by a beat of drums. He waited anxiously to receive his son. Soon he heard that after a long journey on foot the Buddha had entered the outer city. Immediately the king proceeded in a chariot to the entrance of the inner city, accompanied by ministers, Brahmin advisors and Sakyas of high rank. There he alighted from the chariot and with a walking stick for support he waited impatiently, trembling in the cold.

The Buddha continued on his way along the road, and although it was sunny, it was unbearably cold, as winter had settled in. As he approached Kapilavastu, he was reminded of the suffering of all. The outcaste women of the outer city looked upon him from their huts on either side of the road, while from the balcony of their mansions, the rich nobility sat in warm clothing gazing down as the Buddha walked silently passed with his disciples following.

The sight of three hundred bhikkhus in saffron robes peacefully and silently holding their begging bowls made a deep impression on the people of Kapilavastu. King Suddhodana ordered his carriage to the southeastern sector of the city, and there they encountered the bhikkhus. The king's carriage was still some distance from where the Buddha stood. The king asked the charioteer to stop, and he stepped down from the carriage and with hurried steps walked towards the Buddha. The Buddha approached calmly and slowly to greet his father.

"Siddhartha!"

"Father."

Nagasamala came and took the Buddha's begging bowl, enabling him to take hold of the king's hand. Tears streamed down the king's wrinkled cheeks as the Buddha gazed at his father, his eyes filled with loving warmth. The king understood that Siddhartha was no longer the crown prince but a respected spiritual teacher. He wanted to embrace his son, but felt that it might not be proper, and instead he joined his palms and bowed to his son in the manner of a king greeting a high-ranking spiritual teacher.

Nine days after he had left Kapilavastu, Kaludayi had met the Buddha and the three hundred bhikkhus travelling with him. At Kaludayi's suggestion, the king had built a monastery for the Buddha and the bhikkhus at Nyagrodharama Park a few miles southeast of Kapilavastu. It was there that the Buddha and the bhikkhus resided.

As the people of Kapilavastu gathered around the Buddha, he told the story of his spiritual search and explained the meaning and purpose of begging. He and his Sangha were invited to a meal at the palace together with the guests of King Suddhodana. The Buddha gave a discourse on the Four Noble Truths and how to meditate in order to transcend suffering.

Gautami and Yasodhara visited the Buddha at Nyagrodharama, and Gautami presented kashaya vastra, (gold-embroidered garment). Yasodhara invited the Buddha and Kaludayi to a meal at the palace. The Buddha and the Sangha of three hundred bhikkhus arrived. All the Sakyas and high-ranking officials were at the reception. The Buddha looked around the room but did not see Yasodhara. He inquired with the king about her, and the king said that she was waiting in her room for him. With the consent of the community, the Buddha went to to meet her. He saw her there in a white dress and with no adornment. She looked very lean and stricken with the sorrow. When she saw the Buddha with his shaved head and dressed in his monk robes, she began to shed tears. The Buddha said, "Why are you crying, Yasodhara? For Siddhartha? But he has gone; there is no more Siddhartha. I am not he. I am the Buddha, not Siddhartha." At that moment Rahula, a boy of seven years, entered the room. He was astonished to see his mother crying in front of this stranger, this monk whom he did not know, and asked her, "Why are you crying, Mother? Why?" And Yasodhara answered spiritedly, "He is your father, Rahula, your father!" She told him about his inheritance! And Rahula, being only seven years old, asked the Buddha for his "inheritance" without knowing the meaning of the word.

The Buddha and the Sangha left the palace to return to Nyagrodharama. As the Buddha was walking along, Rahula followed him and took hold of his little finger. He walked with him back to Nyagrodharama and again asked for his "inheritance". Sariputra, the Buddha's most valued disciple, was there, and the Buddha said, "Sariputra, please give Rahula whatever I have in this lifetime." And Rahula had his head shaved, and saffron robes were given to him, and he became a novice in the Buddha's Sangha. Sariputra became Rahula's teacher. Later the latter left Nyagrodharama and followed with the Buddha and the Sangha.

After Rahula and Nanda joined the Sangha, the King Suddhodana realized that he would lose his grandson. He did not agree with the Buddha that Rahula should become a monk. At this time the Buddha gave a discourse on politics and the "Way of Virtue." Nyagrodha Park with its ancient fig trees *(Ficus bengalensis)* was soon transformed into a very special monastic complex.

Finally, the Buddha gave assurances that although he would soon be departing for Magadha, he would return to Kapilavastu in the future, which made all those present happy and hopeful.

(Supplemented from *Old Path White Clouds* by Thich Nhat Hanh, and *Portrait of the Buddha* by Jayasena Jayakody).

Some Buddhist literature mentions that the Buddha stayed for forty days at the Nyagrodha monastery during this first visit. This was the place where he met his father for the first time after his Enlightenment.

Majjhimanikaya (a very important Buddhist compilation of the Buddha's teachings) contains one hundred fifty-two suttas. Out of these, the Buddha preaches five very important suttas at Nyagrodharama during the above visit; these suttas are numbers 14, 18, 53, 122 and 142 (Upadhyaya, 15: 2018 B.S.).

Additional references to Nyagrodharama can be found in the *Pindola-sutta, Avassuta-sutta, Kangkheyya-sutta, Pathama-Mahanama-sutta, Dutiya-Mahanama-sutta, Mahanama-sutta* and *Galana-sutta* (Upadhyaya, 22: 2018 BS).

Location of the site:

Nyagrodharama, currently known as Kudan or Lori-ki-Kudan (lat. 27° 32′ N.; long. 83° 2′ 30″ E.) is situated about 1.5 km south of the town of Taulihawa. Taulihawa is the district headquarters of Kapilavastu district of western Nepal. It lies on the left side of the Taulihawa-Soharatgarh road about 27.5 km southwest of Lumbini and 4.5 km south of Tilaurakot, the ancient capital of the Sakya kingdom. There is regular transportation to Taulihawa, and from there the site can be reached easily by car, jeep or rickshaw.

Early visitors:

Fa-hsien, the famous Chinese pilgrim came to this site in the 5th century A.D. He has given a very useful description of his visit to this site:

Stupas were erected on the spot where the Buddha, after arriving at "Supreme Wisdom", met his father, where the five hundred

Sakyas, having embraced the faith, paid reverence to Upali, at the place where Maha Prajapati presented Buddha with a Sanghati whilst he was sitting under a Nyagrodha tree, with his face to the east, which tree still exists (Beal, 87: 1996).

Yuan Chwang, another important Chinese pilgrim, came to the same place in the 7th century A.D. His description of this site is more detailed:

To the south of the city 3 or 4 *li* is a grove of Nyagrodha trees in which is a stupa built by Asoka-raja. This is the place where Sakya Tathagata, having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father and preached the law. Suddhodana-raja, knowing that Tathagata had defeated Mara and was engaged in travelling about, leading people to the truth and converting them, was moved by a strong desire to see him, and considered how be could pay him the reverence due to him. He therefore sent a messenger to invite Tathagata, saying, "Formerly you promised, when you had completed your purpose to become a Buddha, to return to your native place. These are your words still unperformed; now then is the time for you to condescend to visit me." The messenger, having come to the place where the Buddha was, expressed to him the king's desire (mind). *Tathagata* in reply said, "After seven days I will return to my native place." The messenger returning acquainted the king with the news, on which Suddhodana-raja ordered his subjects to prepare the way by watering and sweeping it, and to adorn the road with incense and flowers: and then, accompanied by his officers of state, he proceeded 40 *li* beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to await his arrival. Then Tathagata with a great multitude advanced: the eight Vajrapanis surrounded him as an escort, the heavenly kings went before him; divine Sakra, with a multitude of Devas belonging to the world of desire (Kama Loka), took their place on the left hand; Brahma-raja with Devas of Rupa-loka accompanied him on the right. The bhikkhu Priest walked in order behind, the Buddha by himself, as the full moon among the stars, stood in the midst; his supreme spiritual presence shook the three worlds, the brightness of his person exceeded that of the seven lights; and thus traversing the air he approached his native country. The king and ministers, having reverenced him, again returned to the kingdom, and they located themselves in this Nyagrodha grove.

By the side of the Sangharama, and not far from it, is a stupa; this is the spot where Tathagata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt a golden tissue Kashaya garment. A little farther on is another stupa; this is the place where Tathagata converted eight king's sons and 500 Sakyas (Beal, 21-22: 1983).

Early explorers:

The explorer Dr. A. A. Fuhrer rediscovered the site of Kudan in 1895. According to his report:

The ruins of Krakuchhanda's natal city still exist between the modern villages of Lori-ki-Kudan and Gotihawa, about 2 miles south-west of Taulihawa and about 8½ miles south-west of Srinagara or Srinagar Sagar, near which stood the southern gate of Kapilavastu. The three stupas and monasteries mentioned by Fa-hsien and Yuan Chwang are still visible and Krakuchhanda's Nirvana stupa, standing in the middle of the village of Gotihawa, still rises to a height of about eighty feet (Fuhrer, 19: 1972).

P.C. Mukherji visited the site in 1899 and described the site as follows:

About a mile east of the village of Gotiva and about 1½ miles west of Tauliva is Lori-Kudan, on the east of which is a row of four ancient mounds, north to south. The northernmost appears to be a stupa of solid brickwork still about 80 feet high, of which the superficies was covered with plasters and concrete, as, is still visible on the top. On three sides of it a Babaji, who erected his huts here, has removed bricks long ago. The next mound, just south of it, is the largest and highest of all the four. It has a compound wall on the four sides, which has been removed some years ago. Ascending about 20 feet I saw another wall from which the villagers are removing bricks. Going up further, a third wall was traceable on the summit about 40 feet high from the ground level. Here terracotta elephants and horses are dedicated to the spirit of Lori-Ahir, who, the local legend says, was a great giant and used to leap from one mound to the other. On the east of the mound is an ancient tank, full of lotus plants.

The third mound is a low one, about 250 feet south of the largest one. The walls of a room are traceable here.

The fourth mound appears to be a structure of solid brickwork, on which the villagers have raised a modern temple sacred to Siva. On the south of the temple lines of the ancient platform are clearly visible.

These mounds are worth excavation, as being very promising of result; and I have reasons to believe that the largest mound will turn out to be the debris of an important monument, most probably a Buddhist monastery (Mukherji, 32-33: 1969).

Mukherji further identified the ruins of Lori-Kudan on the basis of the account of Yuan Chwang. His own account is as follows:
To the south of the city, 3 or 4 *li*, is a grove of Nyagrodha trees, in which is a stupa, built by Asoka-Rajah. Three or four *li* is less than a mile; I could not find any stupa. About 2 miles further south are the ruins of Lori-Kudan, where is a solid brick mound, very like a stupa, on the south of which is a large structure, still about 40 feet high. This structure might represent the famous Nyagrodha Monastery, where Suddhodana received his son as the Buddha and which he dedicated to his church.
By the side of this Sangharama and not far from it is a stupa where Tathagata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt (step-mother Prajapati Gautami) a

golden-tissue Kashaya garment. A little further on is another stupa where Tathagata converted eight king's sons and 500 Sakyas. If the Sangharama is understood to be that of the Nyagrodha, there is no difficulty in identifying these two stupas with the two other mounds of Lori-Kudan, on the southernmost of which stands the modern temple of Siva (Mukherji, 53-54: 1969).

The next notice of this site is by General Khadga Shumsher JBR in 1904. According to his article, published in *Pioneer, English Daily* (1904):

> [Lahari Kudan] contains three ruined stupas, one of which is remarkably large. These three ruins lie on the sides of a tank, which itself was most probably the site of another ruin, and was excavated by persons in search of treasure trove. The biggest is on the west side and is nearly 24 feet high with two divisions probably sites of two Sangharama; the other, nearly 11 feet high, is topped with an octagonal temple, in which there is a phallic *linga,* called Nageshwara Mahadeo; the third, which is the smallest, is only 4 feet high, and lies in the middle of the other two, in the south-east corner of the tank; three yards off the biggest ruins, lies a place of small red stone, half immersed in water, which undoubtedly seems to be a piece of the ill-fated Asoka pillar at Gotihawa.
>
> The place must have derived its name from the Kudan, i.e. jumping of Lohora-Laguda, in other words, of Buddha, and it must have been the place where Buddha held athletic sports; if not, the place belonged to his *Gosthis,* i.e. relatives (Rana, 4: 1904).

According to Mukherji's and Rana's descriptions on the site of Nyagrodha Major W. Vost identified the stupa adjoining the spot as where:

> The elephant (thrown by Gautama Buddha) falling on the ground caused a deep and wide ditch; (ii) the next mound (the largest) with the remains of the two temples (one

with the representation of Gautama and the other with the likeness of Yasodhara and Rahula) which Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) saw by the side of the Hastigarta, (iii) the third one with the item of the school-room of Gautama and (iv) the fourth mound (on which an octagonal temple still stands) with 'the remains of the temple which lay without the south gate (of Kapilavastu), and contained a representation of a sick man' (Vost, 558-559: 1906).

Vost with the Hastigarta has tentatively identified the tank, pit caused by the fall of the elephant.

Excavation at Kudan:

In February 1962 the government of India, in response to a request from HMG/Nepal, deputed Devala Mitra for three and a half months to carry out excavations and explorations in the Lumbini-Kapilavastu area of the Central Tarai. She and her party camped at Lumbini up to 26 February and surveyed a number of sites, some of them already known as a result of the explorations carried out late in the nineteenth century by archaeologists from India. Ultimately, she decided to excavate at Tilaurakot and Kudan, the former for the vestiges of ancient habitation and the latter for religious structures.

Site:

At Kudan, there is a group of four mounds by the side of the Taulihawa-Shoharatgarh road. The mounds are located on the bank of an ancient large tank two on the southern and two on the western bank. (Pl. 1)

Mounds:

One of the two mounds on the south bank bears on its top an octagonal temple with a *linga* older than the temple. (Pl. 2) The mound itself contains the ruins of a brick temple masoned with mud mortar. At a higher level, near the extant top, was found a broken *linga*-its lower portion octagonal and upper portion circular-made of stone of a light yellowish colour. (Pl. 3)

To its west-northwest is a second very low mound. It contains the ruins of a brick structure almost in the last stage of decay.

The third mound is located on the west bank of the pond. About 8 metres high; it is the largest and the highest. On its top is growing a large tamarind tree, below which Samaidevi, represented by two semicircular earthen lumps, is worshipped. (Pl. 4)

The fourth mound, the northernmost, immediately to the north of the third, is the second largest in size. The bases of these two mounds almost touch each other. (Pl. 5)

Chronology:

According to Mitra's report:
The dates of the structures are uncertain for lack of definitely datable objects like inscriptions. No doubt, fragments of two images have been found, but they are too defaced to be dated accurately. The image of Mahishashuramardini, on the basis of a halo, may roughly be ascribed to about the ninth century A.D. But then, one is not sure whether the image belongs to period I of Temple 1. The decoration of the brickwork of this temple is, no doubt, exuberant, but it is of little use in the absence of firmly dated temples with similar decorations. Ceramic evidence also could not be utilized profitably for the precise chronology of the site due not only to the absence of the well-stratified sequence but lack of an adequate report on analogous sites with parallel pottery (p. 159).

She further mentions that:
Period II of Temple 1, which came to be built not only on the plinth of period I but largely with its natural (sic), was destroyed by fire. She dated the charred wood on its passage and came to the conclusion that it belonged to Period I of Temple 1. However, it does not appear to have been earlier than seventh century A.D (p. 161).

Mitra has given a detailed description of the exposed structures as follows:

A. The Well:

Of the three structures, the exposed well was stratigraphically the earliest. The brick platform around the well, which was square at the base, was the most singular of its kind; it was remarkable for the ornamental treatment of its four facades. (Pl. 6)

Against the east face of the platform was the remains of a narrow oblong structure, which might have served as a stair.

All the facing bricks were smoothly chiseled and polished, the joints being fine and hardly visible. The mortar was mud. The core used bricks and brickbats, the latter generally of large sizes.

Amidst the debris inside the well were found bones of animals and three carved stone pieces. One of them was a fragment of an image of red sandstone. Only the head and right palm holding a sword behind the head are preserved. The fragment represents the head of Mahishashuramardini. The remaining two fragments, small and made of sandstone, were badly defaced (pp. 163-164).

B. Temple 1:

Temple 1, facing east, was of two periods, the earlier one, consisting of a sanctuary and a compartment porch, was built almost immediately after the well. The earlier temple, of imposing dimensions, had already been reduced to its plinth, with a few courses of its base at odd places, when the later temple was erected over it. Still one can easily visualize its pristine grandeur from the surviving parts of its platform, which itself was the most exquisite of its kind. Even the temple in its ruined state is a majestic structure with a richly ornamented ambitious platform (p. 164). (Pl. 7)

C. Temple 2:

The fourth mound yielded the remains of a sanctuary called Temple 2, and eleven cells in three rows, the rear row of the latter abutting against the east face of the former. The curious feature of this complex was that the major part of the basement, which went very little below the ground, was erected above the ground to a considerable height and was embedded into an exceptionally compact filling of yellowish clay earth and Kankar-nodules. The filling-material, which consisted of natural soil, was possibly secured from the tank mentioned above. This filling gave the appearance of a platform around the complex. How the face of this mud platform was secured is not known. Either it had a brick retaining wall, which has disappeared entirely, or it was covered with some sort of plaster to arrest the percolation of water. The basement, which was of solid brickwork, was square at the base, gradually its three sides (north, south and west) became *tri-ratha* and ultimately *pancha-ratha* near the top, and some portions of the basement were battered (p. 172). (Pl. 8)

The multitudes of decorated bricks that were found in the debris of the temple speak eloquently of the grandeur of the temple in its ornamental brickwork, when intact. Remarkable for a variety of designs and skilled workmanship, these bricks were generally in the tradition of those of Period I of Temple 1. No image was found either above the temple or its immediate vicinity (p. 173). (Pl. 9)

D. Antiquities:

The number of antiquities from the site is extremely limited. Apart from the pieces of sculptures, architectural fragments and iron clamps there were a few small finds in the form of terracotta discs, glass and paste bangles and miscellaneous iron objects. The last include (i) a bent nail with a thickened head and squarish section found in the floor above ground by the side of the eastern face of Temple 1, (ii) fragment of a bar of squarish section, found on the ground immediately below the floor by the side of the northern flank of the platform of Temple 1, (iii) a long flat object with pointed ends and a small nail fixed to it through a hole, found on the platform of Temple 1, (iv) a hook found in the filling inside a foundation-cell of the porch of Temple 2, (v) fragment of a curved object with a perforation and wedge-shaped section found on the terrace in front of Temple 1 of Period II and (vi) a long bar with an oblong section, a pointed tip and a triangular head found on the top of the basement of the sanctum of Temple 1 (pp. 173-174).

E. The Pottery:

Sherds recovered from Kudan were limited in number which is but natural in a purely temple site where earthen vessels were mainly in use for the cooking of *bhoga* (food offered to an idol) and storage. The regular sweeping around the living temples is not conducive to accumulation and formation of the well-stratified deposit; consequently the sherds from temple-sites are often of little value for the determination of pottery sequence. Sherds were collected from the deposit immediately on the floor level around the temples, the floor being on the natural soil. Even then all of them cannot be regarded as the earliest ones, as the premises immediately around the temples must have been constantly cleaned; consequently, they can hardly be utilized for chronometrical purposes. Leaving aside a few stray types found usually in the debris of the temples, the pottery, on the whole, marked neither any significant changes nor basic difference in the ceramic industry, and most of the types were found from the debris of the temple. It bespeaks an essentially integral culture so far as the fabric, firing and slip are concerned. (Pl. 10) The secure dating of the pottery and its proper position in the chronological context could not be determined in the absence of a corpus of pottery on a comparable period. Some sherds of the late group of Ahichchhatra, Uttar Pradesh, India, have a seeming affinity with the pottery of Kudan, but the published report is too condensed for a comparative study. Consequently, this pottery has to be re-examined for determining its precise chronological horizon as and when the Indian sites with similar pottery are excavated.

The pottery was an exclusively red ware industry. The fabric generally ranged from tolerably fine to medium, though a few coarse sherds were also met with. The baking was usually good. The entire range of pottery was wheel-made. While bowls were completely potted on wheels, most of the vessels were retouched with beaters after having been wheel-turned. Moulds do not appear to have been used. The ware had for the most part a red slip, usually of a deep shade. In most cases the inner side of the vases below the neck was left without slip. The outer body below the neck of several vases was superficially mica-dusted.

The range of sherds was quite limited, the vases, including cooking handis being overwhelmingly predominant. Other kinds of vessels like bowls, lids and basins (or cooking-pans) formed only a small percentage. Fragments of single-spouted vases were fairly common. Painted sherds were altogether absent. Decorated pottery formed a fairly small percentage. The range of decoration was limited to encased patterns, fingertip impressions on applied bands and triangular indentations, and the last two less frequent. The designs were executed, to judge from the lingering slip on them in several specimens, before the firing of the posts. They usually embellished either the shoulder or the body immediately below the shoulder. The perforated sherds appeared to have been a base of a strainer perhaps (pp. 174-175).

Discussion:

Under very inadequate time constraints (three months and a half) Mrs. D. Mitra explored almost thirty-six sites in Rupandehi and Kapilavastu districts. She conducted excavations at Tilaurakot and Kudan within the same time frame. According to her statement she arrived at Lumbini on the 12th of February 1962 and camped up to the 26th. She shifted the camp near Tilaurakot on the 26th of February. Then she started excavating in Kudan. In the first week of April, the work of excavation had progressed sufficiently to give an idea of the structure to be exposed. During the latter part of the work, rains considerably handicapped the party. In such a situation she opened a few areas of Kudan and Tilaurakot.

At the stupa-shaped mound, south of the pond, she suspected the ruins of a brick temple just on the basis of two scrapings. From the top, she collected a broken *linga,* which seems to be older than the temple (p. 158). But she conceded that theage of the structure is uncertain for the lack of definitely datable objects such as inscriptions. The fragments of two images, one of Mahishashuramardini may roughly be ascribed to about the 9th century A.D. on the basis of a halo. But then one is not sure whether the image belonged to Period I of Temple 1. Ceramic evidence could not be utilized profitably either for a precise chronology of the site (p. 159).

She mentioned that the frist temple of Period II, which was built not only on the plinth from Period I but also largely with its material, was destroyed by fire. The charred wood of its passage has been dated to the 9th century A.D. It is reasonable to infer that the temple of Period I was at least more than a century older (p. 161). However, it does not appear to go back earlier than the 7th century A.D.

With such vague data for the lower and upper limits of Temple1 of Period I, one should not, perhaps, speculate further but rather wait for convincing evidence from some decorated temple of the same type (p. 161).

Mitra did not excavate the site below the ground level. The excavation work consisted simply of the scraping of the mounds. The surface materials and the exposed bricks could not unlock the date of the site. It will be necessary to excavate the lower part of the mound to learn the true story of the place.

Nor is the charred wood collected from the plinth of Period I of any use for dating the structures. Nitra simply cleared the vegetation from the mounds and followed their walls.

No image was found above the temple or in its immediate vicinity (p. 173). As originally the site was situated in a Buddhist settlement, is very clear that there is much little chance that any image will emerge. The present structures are from the late period and rose on top of the old settlement. These structures probably can be associated with the revival of Hinduism in and around the 9th-10th centuries A.D. in this area.

The name Nyagrodhavana or Nyagrodharama is formed from the word nyagrodha, the banyan tree *(Ficus bengalensis)*. The place itself was a famous forest in the Buddhist period. As to the tree, it was a shade-bearing species generally planted by the side of the road where travellers could rest during their journey. King Suddhodana ordered the monastery to be constructed for the Buddha and his Sangha when they were visiting Kapilavastu. The famous ancient trade route Uttarapatha perhaps passed through this site and the fact that the Buddha would naturally come this way may have influenced the choice of it.

Very interestingly, both the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Yuan Chwang visited this very site in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. respectively. Both saw the Nyagrodha monastery and stupas there. It was an important and holy place still known to the people. The distances and directions to it mentioned by these pilgrims differ little, but Yuan Chwang is more accurate. He pinpoints the site: "to the south of the city (present-day Tilaurakot) 3 or 4 *li* is a grove of Nyagrodha trees."

There are different views on this Chinese dimension. Prof. Hubert Durt in a personal letter (1997) wrote me as follows: "I have contacted Dr. Max Deeg, a specialist of Fa-Hsien. He told me that Fa-Hsien had not a strictly fixed system. He followed probably what he was told by the inhabitants of the region he visited. There are, as I told you, variants in the *li* according to periods and to regions, but it seems safe to say one *li* = approximately 400m."

Thus if we consider the measurement given by Yuan Chwang as 3 to 4 *li* south of the city it comes to some where around one and half kilometres from Kapilavastu, which is very near to the present site. Another important fact to be considered here is that there is not any other site with much archaeological claim to being Nyagrodharama to the south of the southern gate of Kapilavastu. It is indeed a huge site and fulfills virtually all requirements one could place upon it.

It is distressing to mention that since 1962, after Mrs. D. Mitra's; no archaeological activities have been carried out in this important site. Further needful scientific excavations and careful observations, may bring additional confirmation of its identity.

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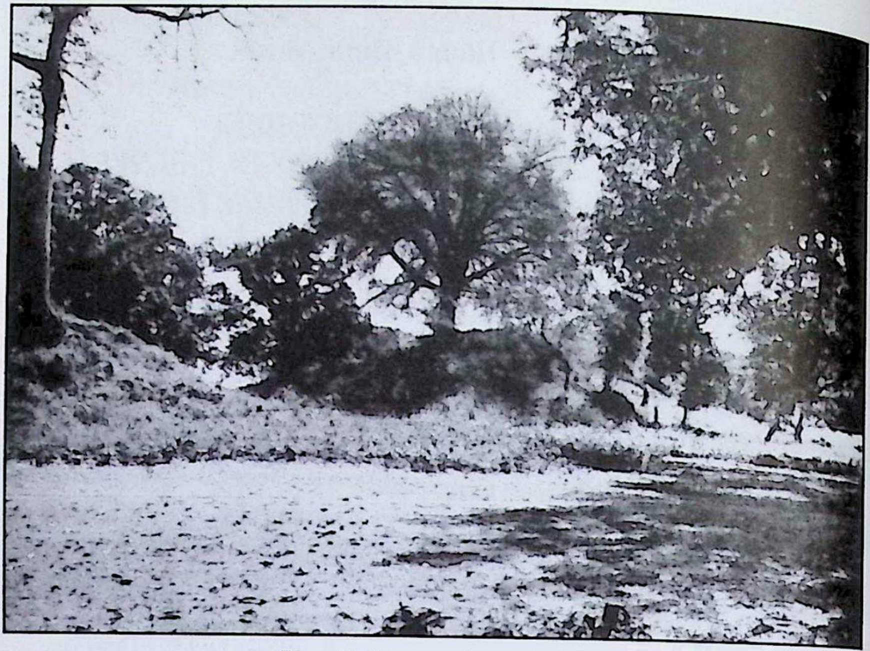
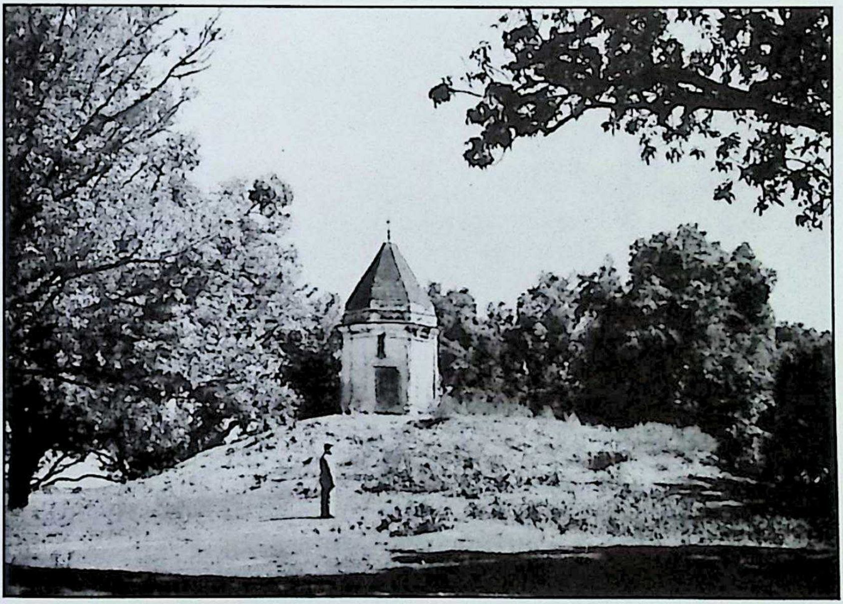


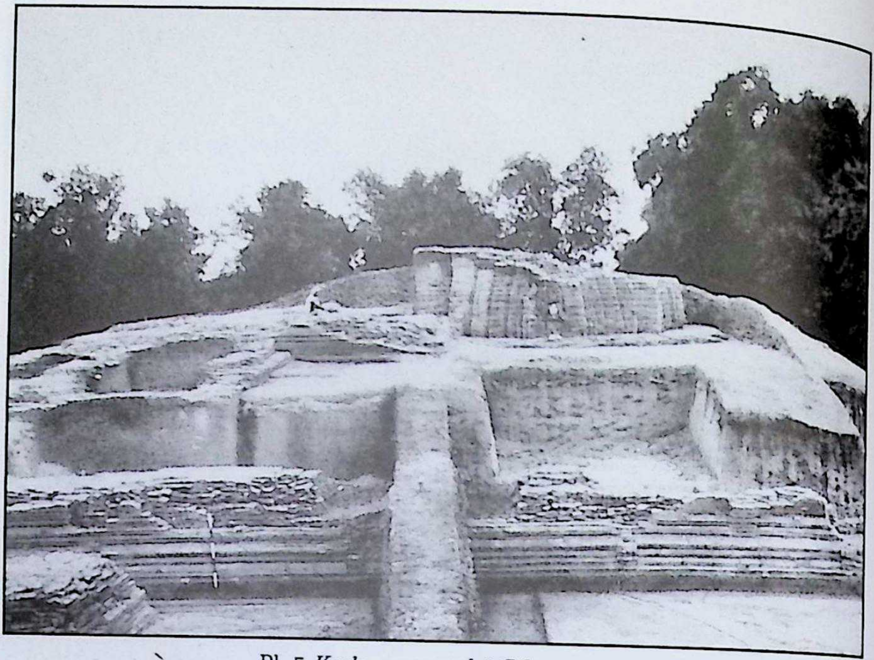
Pl. 1 *Kudan: northern mounds*

Pl. 2 *Kudan: northernmost mounds*

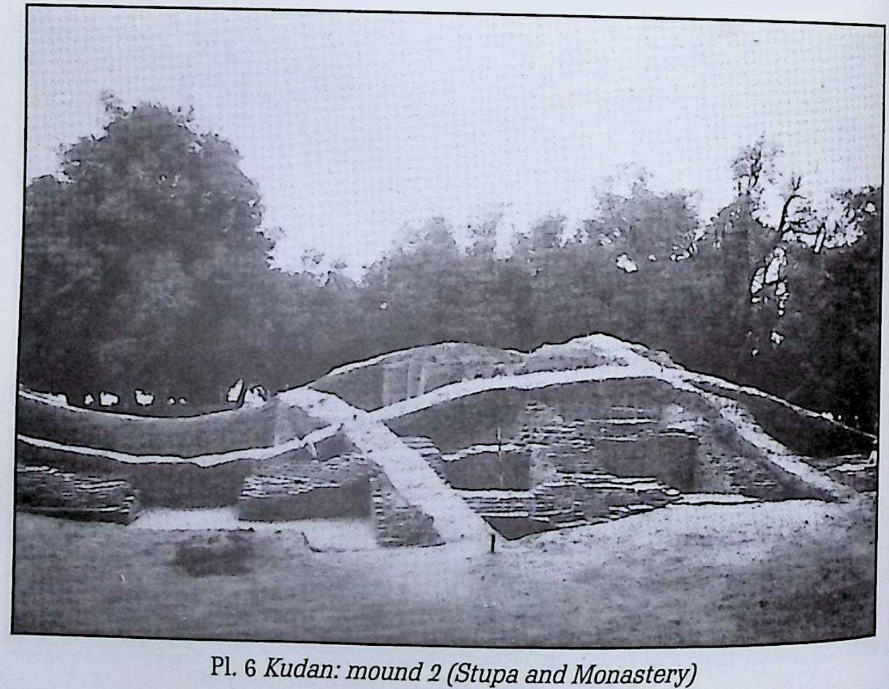
Pl. 3 *Kudan: highest mound, west of the pond*



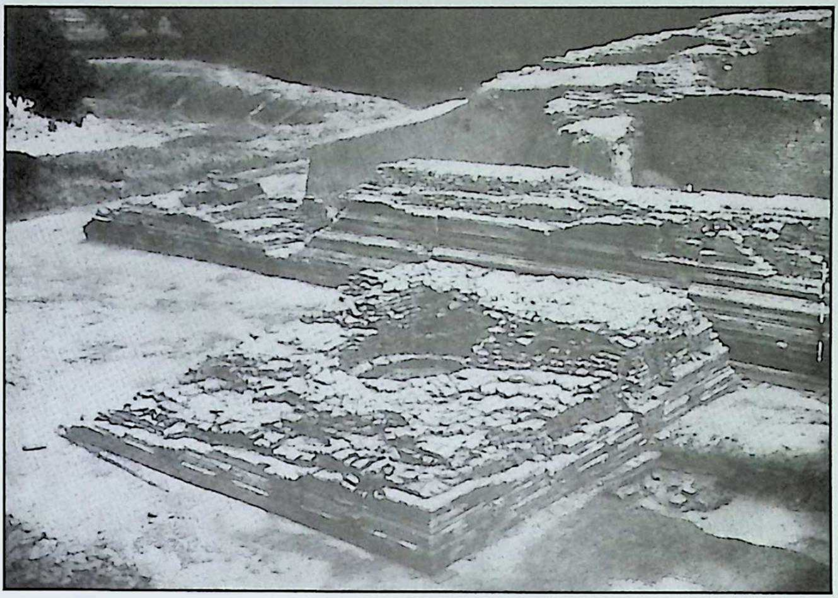
Pl. 4 *Kudan: mound with an octagonal temple*



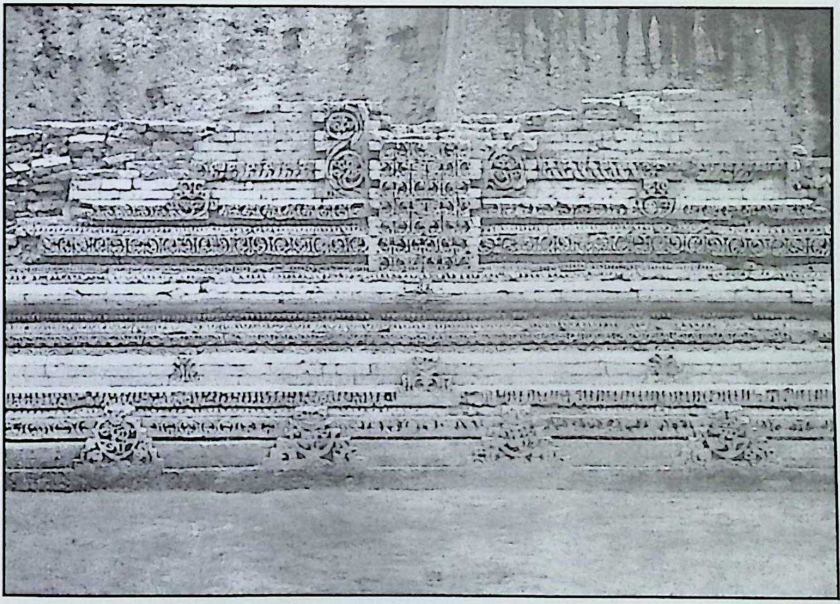
Pl. 5 *Kudan: mound 1 (Monastery)*



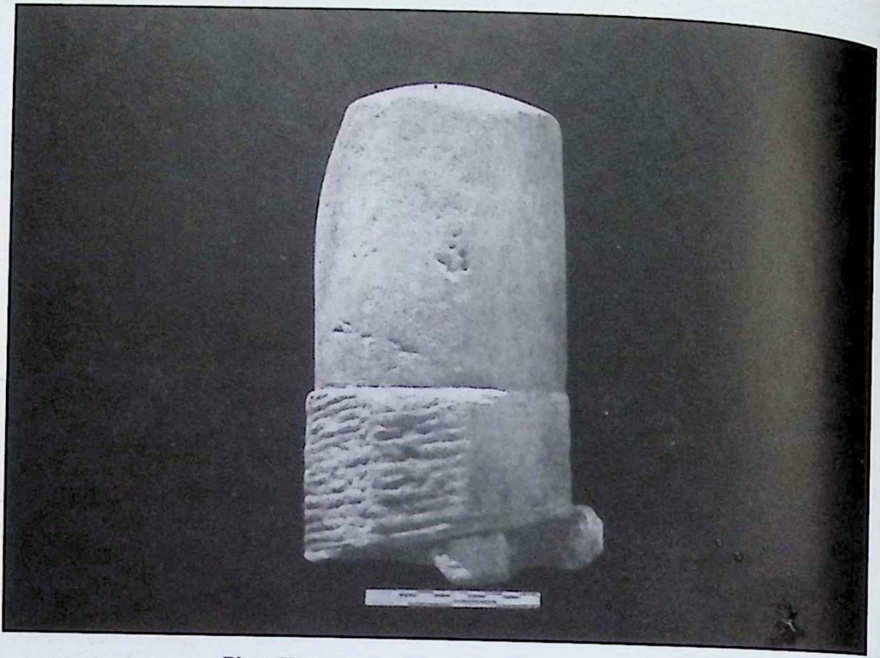
Pl. 6 *Kudan: mound 2 (Stupa and Monastery)*



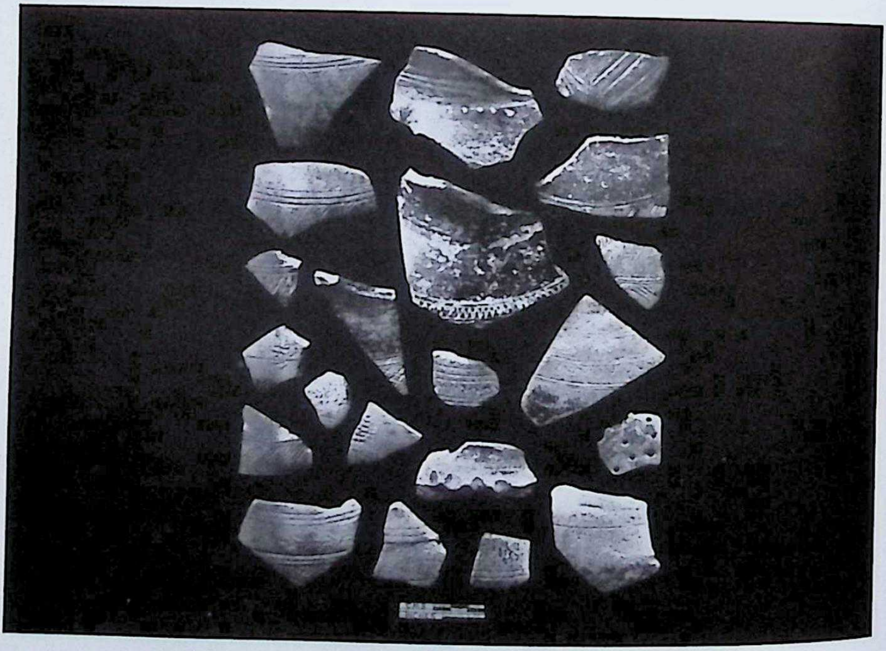
Pl. 7 *Kudan: well inbetween two structures*



Pl. 8 *Kudan: mound 1, ornate north facade*

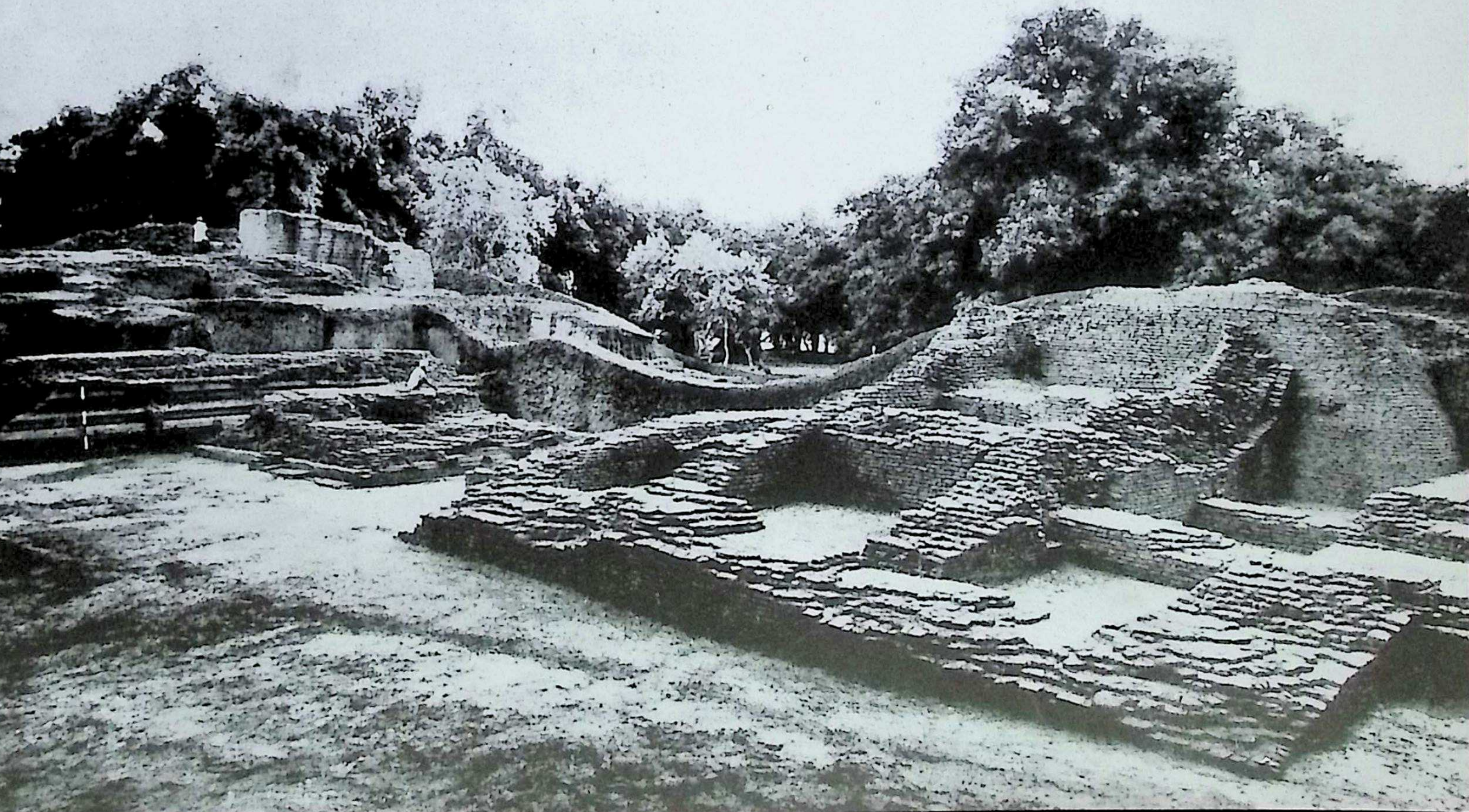


Pl. 9 *Kudan: broken Shive linga (phallus)*

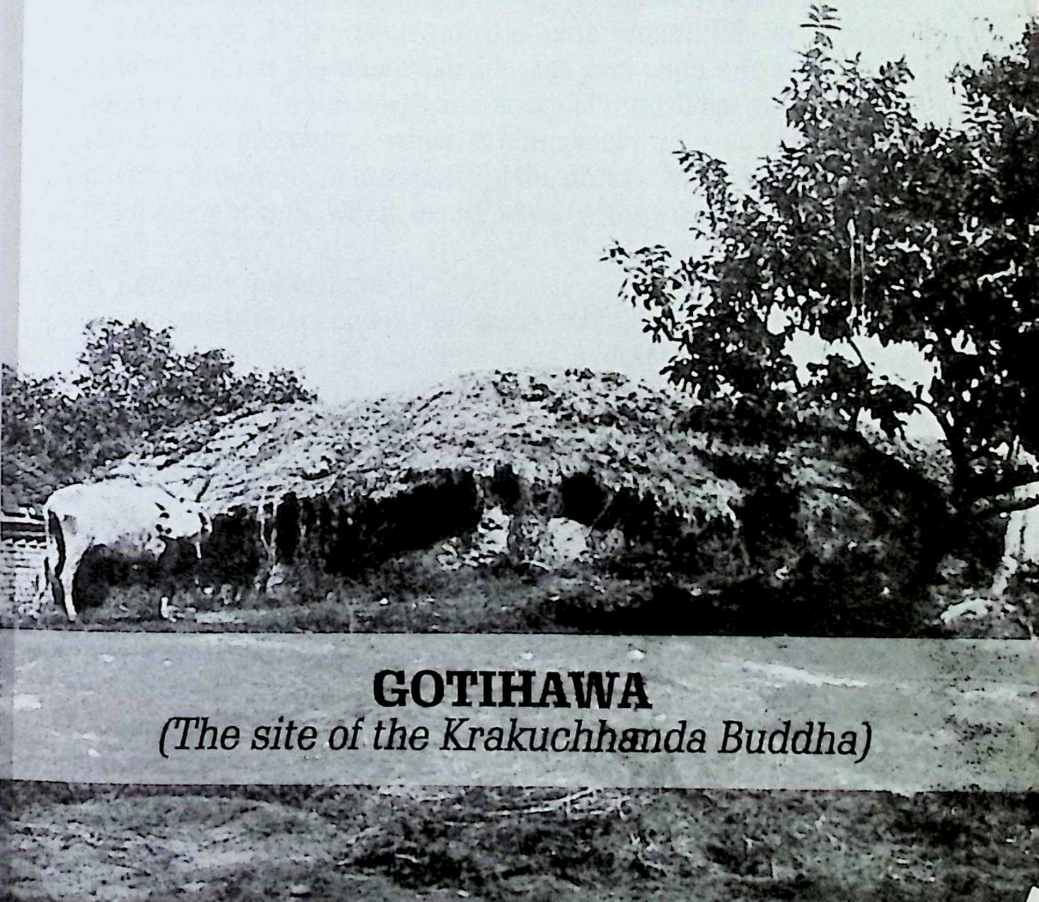


Pl. 10 *Kudan: decorated and perforated sherds*

Pl. 11 *Kudan, general view after digging (mound 1 and 2)*



CHAPTER 2



GOTIHAWA

(The site of the Krakuchhanda Buddha)

Location:

Gotihawa (lat. 27°31′30″ N; long. 83°1′ E) is an important historical, archaeological and religious place situated in Kapilavastu district in western Nepal, in ward 4 of a village of the same name. This site lies about 6 kilometres south-west of Taulihawa (the district headquarters of Kapilavastu district), 2 kilometres west of Kudan (the ancient Nyagrodharama), 7 kilometres south-west of Tilaurakot (the ancient Kapilavastu), and about 31 kilometres west of Lumbini. It is about 800 metres west of the Banganga irrigation road and close to the primary school of Gotihawa.

Importance of the site:

a. Archaeological importance

Gotihawa is one of the most important archaeological sites in this region. The whole area is littered with ancient pottery, bricks and brickbats. The site comprises mostly structures like stupas and monasteries. At the centre of the main mound lies an Asokan pillar of which the upper portion has brokenoff and long since gone missing. To the north and south of the village of Gotihawa, the ancient structures, which are made of bricks and brickbats, cover a large area. At the centre of the present village are remains of an ancient well, which is still used by the villagers.

b. Religious importance

This place is of special significance to Buddhists the world over. It is believed that the Krakuchhanda Buddha, one of the earlier Buddha before Sakyamuni Buddha, was born and attained nirvana in this holy place. He was born in this present aeon, known as Bhadra Kalpa.

History of the Krakuchhanda Buddha:

Malalasekera (1983), a renowned Buddhist scholar from Srilanka has recounted the story of the Krakuchhanda or Kakusanda Buddha as follows:

The twenty-second of the twenty four Buddhas and the first of the five Buddhas of the present Bhaddakappa. He was the son of the Brahmin Aggidatta, chaplain of Khemankara, king of Khemavati, and Visakha. He was born in the Khema pleasaunce. He lived for four thousand years in the household in three palaces; they were Ruci, Suruci and Vaddhana (or Rativaddana). His wife was Virocamana (or Rocani), and he had a son Uttara. He left the world riding in a chariot, and practised austerities for only eight months. Before his Enlightenment, a meal of milk-rice was given by the daughter of the Brahmin Vajirindha of the village Sucirindha, and grass for his seat by the Yavapalaka Subhadda. His bodhi was a *sirisa*-tree *(Albizzialebbek)* and his first sermon was preached to eighty-four thousand monks in the park near the city of Makila. He performed the Twin-Miracles under a *sala*-tree at the gates of Kannakujja. Among his converts was a fierce yakkha named Naradeva. He held only one assembly of his monks. Kakusandha's body was forty cubits in height, and he died at the age of forty thousand years in the Khema pleasaunce. The stupa erected over his relics was one league high.

The Bodhisattva at that time was a king named Khema. The Buddha's chief disciples were Vidura and Sanjiva among monks, and Sama and Campa among nuns. His personal attendant was Buddhija. Accuta and Samana, Nanda and Sunanda were his most eminent lay-supporters. Kakusandha kept the fast day *(uposatha)* every year. In Kakusandha's time a Mara named Dusi (a previous birth of Moggallana) gave a great deal of trouble to the Buddha and his followers, trying greatly the Buddha's patience. The *Samyutta Nikaya* mentions that during the time of Kakusanda the Mount Vepulla of Rajagaha was named Pacinavamsa and the inhabitants were called Tivara.

The monastery built by Accuta on the site where, in the present age, Anathapindika erected the Jetvanarama, was half a league in extent, and the ground was bought by paying the golden *kacchap* as sufficient in number to cover it.

According to Ceylonese chronicles, Kakusandha paid a visit to Ceylon. The island was then known as Ojadipa and its capital was Abhayanagara, where reigned King Abhaya. The Mahameghavarna was called Mahatittha. The Buddha came, with forty thousand disciples, to rid the island of a pestilence caused by "yakkhas" and stood on the Devakuta Mountain from where, by virtue of his own desire, all inhabitants of the country could see him. The Buddha and his disciples were invited to a meal by the king, and after the meal the Mahatittha garden was presented to the Order; there the Buddha sat, in meditation, in order to consecrate various spots connected with the religion. At the Buddha's wish, the nun Rucananda brought to the island a branch of the sacred bodhi-tree. The Buddha gave to the people his own drinking-vessel as an object of worship, and returned to Jumbudipa, leaving behind his disciples Mahadeva and Rucananda to look after the spiritual welfare of the new converts to the faith (Malalasekera, 470-471: 1983).

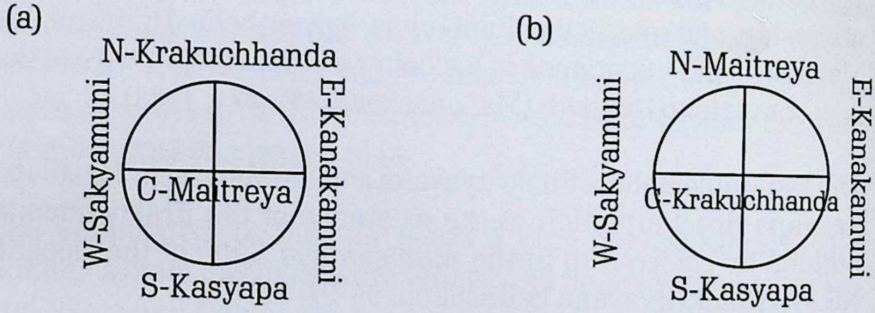
The Venerable Rahula Sankrityayana and the Venerable Jagadisha Kasyapa drew attention to the existence of the Krakuchhanda Buddha as referred to in the *Mahapadana Sutta* of the Deegha Nikaya (Sankrityayana & Kasyapa, 96-97: 1979).

Krakuchhanda Buddha as a human Buddha:
Snodgrass (1992) has provided the details of the existence of the human Buddhas. According to him:

The human (Manusi) Buddhas are the Buddhas of the present aeon. According to both the Hinayana and Mahayana teachings Sakyamuni was not the only Buddha to appear in the present kalpa (aeon) but was preceded by the Buddha Krakuchhanda, Kanakamuni and Kasyapa, thus forming a group of four Buddhas of this world era. The group is frequently enlarged to a quinary by the addition of Maitreya, the Buddha who is yet to come, and there are also frequent textual references and representations of seven, and occasionally eight Buddhas of the past. Each of these Buddhas, whether he belongs to a group of four, five, seven, or eight, commemorates the beginning of a world age.

Each of the Manusi Buddhas is associated with a direction of space. The correspondence is usually given as Krakuchhanda at the center, Kanakamuni to the east, Kasyapa to the south, Sakyamuni to the west, and the future Buddha, Maitreya, to the north. But on the stupa another schema of correspondence operates: Maitreya, who is distinguishable by his Bodhisattva garb, is concealed at the center and the first of the terrestrial Buddhas, Krakuchhanda is moved to the north.

Places of the five Manusi Buddhas at the stupa:



(The five Manusi Buddhas and the directions of space (a) The usual correspondence of the five Manusi Buddhas and directions (b) The location of the five Manusi Buddhas in the stupa).

Arranged in this manner, the Manusi Buddhas appear on stupas in many parts of Asia. They are present among the sculptures at Sanchi. The celebrated Nanda temple in Burma enshrines statues of the four Manusi Buddhas in the four directions and the latter three-tiered stupa-temples of Burma often have a central Buddha image at the second story and the four Manusi Buddhas in chapels at the cardinal points of the story below. The Shwe Dagon in

Rangoon is said to contain relics of the Manusi Buddhas, buried within the building in the four directions. The arrangement is found in Sri Lanka (notably in the Wat-da-ge). Legend says that in Nepal, Asoka in the Kathmandu valley established the prototype for the form by building four stupas in the four directions to commemorate the four ages of the world. The formula recurs in Thailand, Laos and Kampuchea (Snodgrass, 131-134: 1992).

And as Bhattacharya mentions, "The Hinayanists, even in their earlier stages, recognized twenty-four bygone Buddhas each having a particular Bodhi tree. The Mahayanists also give several lists, though not systematically and thirty-two different names have been recovered. The last seven Tathagatas are well known, and are designated by the Mahayanists as Manusi or Mortal Buddhas. These are Vipassi, Sikhi, Visvabhu, Krakuchhand, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa and Sakyasimha. The historicity of the last is established and there are good grounds for personages" (Bhattacharya, 76: 1968).

Location of Krakuchhanda's town:

Buddhist literature including travellers' accounts locates the sites of the birth and nirvana of the Krakuchhanda Buddha. The Krakuchhanda Buddha was a Pratyeka-Buddha wao attained nirvana and his place of nirvana became a Buddhist tirtha (sacred place). This shows that the cult and worship of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C. (Banerjee, 74: 1980).

Emperor Asoka during his pilgrimage to Sakyamuni and Kanakamuni's birthplaces at Lumbini and Niglisagara also paid a visit to the sites of Krakuchhanda's birth and nirvana. There he erected a pillar with an inscription to commemorate his visit and also constructed a big stupa. "Asoka is credited with the construction of a large number of stupas enshrining relics of the Buddha or Buddhist saints all over northern India and Nepal, and with them were erected monasteries or viharas for the monks" (Longhurst, 17: 1979).

Chinese travellers at the Krakuchhanda site:

About the seventh century A.D. when Europe was still in the "Dark Ages", India and China were going through a period of an intense political, intellectual, religious and artistic vibrancy. The common bond created between them by Buddhism generated a great current of humanism, which spread from Ceylon to Japan. After a thousand years of eventful development, Buddhist mysticism reached its apogee, and Indian aesthetics and philosophy received fresh inspiration from it (Bapat, 225: 1987).

Chinese pilgrims, most famously Fa-hsien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, visited all the important holy places of Buddhism in India, Nepal and Srilanka starting from 5th century A.D. They travelled in order to obtain valuable books on Buddhism, to witness the proper Buddhist practices, to learn Sanskrit and to study Buddhist doctrines under learned Indian monk-teachers. There were many pilgrims of less repute who found their way to the land of the Buddha before or after Fa-hsien, Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing. Liang-chi-chao states "about one hundred and sixty-nine pilgrims visited India from China during six hundred years i.e., between the third and eight centuries of the Christian era" (Sen, 2: 1956). The most reputed travellers were Fa-hsien (also called Fa-hien) and Yuan Chwang (also called Hiuen Tsiang), both of them visited Lumbini, Kapilavastu and Ramagrama in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. respectively.

a. Fa-hsien:

Fa-hsien, an eminent Buddhist monk of China, along with his friend Tao-Ching and a fellow student, left Changan for India in 399 A.D. His main aim was to procure authentic copies of Buddhist books on monastic discipline. He studied in India for some years and personally copied the Buddhist scriptures. According to B.L. Pradhan, "he visited Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama and then to India in 403 A.D." (Pradhan, 43: 1995). After that he went to Ceylon, where he studied Buddhism for two years. After travelling more than ten years and visiting more than thirty countries, he went back to China by a sea route in 413 A.D. He collected manuscripts, images and paintings and carried these to China. His book *A Record of the Buddhist Countries* provides valuable reference materials for the study of ancient Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama.

Fa-hsien briefly refers to the place of origin of the Krakuchhanda Buddha: "Leaving the city of Sravasti, and going twelve yojanas (1 yojana = about 8 miles) to the south-east, we arrived at a town called Na-pi-ka. This is the birthplace of Krakuchhanda Buddha. There are towers erected on the spots where the interview between the father and son took place and also where he entered Nirvana" (Beal, 84: 1996).

Fa-hsien thus places the old city of Krakuchhanda (called by him the Ku-lu-chin Buddha) about 96 miles to the south-east of Sravasti, and he tells us the city had at that time topes and viharas (that is, commemoratives). He gives the name of this city as Na-pi-ka, which is perhaps Nabhika, the name of a town in the far north (Watters, 6: 1973).

Raychaudhuri (1927) states: "The inscriptions at Kalsi and those on Rummindei and the Nigali Sagar pillars prove the inclusion of the Deharadun district and the Tarai within the limits of Asoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapatan and Rampuruwa attest his possession of the valley of Nepal and the district of Champaran. Further evidence of the inclusion of the Himalayan region within Asoka's empire is furnished by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nabhapatis of Nabhaka, probably identical with Na-pei-kea of Fa-hsien the birthplace of Krakuchhanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu" (Raychaudhuri, 193: 1927).

As B.C. Law further states, "In the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka, the Yonas, Kambhojas, Gandharas, Rashtrikas-Pitinkas, Bhojas, Nabhapantis, Andharas and Pulindas are mentioned. We have to take these names as those of subject people, forming some of the frontier districts of Asoka's empire" (Law, 54: 19979).

Bhattacharya has a somewhat different view: "The Nabhakas and the Nabhiti (also called Nabhapantis of Nabhaka in the Kalsi version of the edict) have not yet been definitely identified and they might have lived somewhere between the North-West Frontier Province and the western coast of India" (Bhattacharya, 15: 1960).

T. Mishra, on the basis of the Kalsi inscription near Deharadun, believes that Emperor Asoka controlled the Khas region. The pillars at Lumbini, Gotihawa and the place of the Parinirvana of the Kanakamuni Buddha prove his control, and these places are known as Nabhaka region (Mishra, 7: 1999).

b. Yuan Chwang:

After Fa-hsien, another important pilgrim from China visited this holy site. He is known as Hiuen Tsiang, Huan Chwang, or Yuan Chwang. He journeyed to India in the 7th century A.D. As Hazra notes: "He wrote valuable accounts of India which are full of descriptions giving interesting glimpses of Buddhism in the seventh century A.D. For a study of the history of Buddhism and for the reconstruction of some of the lost chapters of the religious history of ancient India, his record deserves special attention and should be of great value" (Hazra, X: 1983).

B.L. Pradhan has provided a short description of the work and achievements of Yuan Chwang as follows:

Hsuan Tsang (Yuan Chwang), the youngest son of Hui, was a man of brilliant and upright character who had mastered the classics at an early age. From his very childhood Hsuan Tsang showed nobility of mind and outstanding brilliance. Influenced by the example of his elder brother who had become a monk of the Buddhist monastery at Loyang, Hsuan Tsang, as a boy, started the study of Buddhism. By virtue of his precocity he managed to obtain a special permission for ordination at an early age. When at the age of thirteen he gave a sermon from the pulpit the audience was taken aback at the marvelous way he spoke. He was already a reputed monk when he in 629 A.D. set out on his journey with an eager desire to find out the authentic scriptures in the very land where the Lord had preached his doctrines. He travelled through the overland route, passing through deserts and mountains with extreme suffering. From about 630 A.D. to 643 A.D. he visited almost every place in India associated with Buddhism, going as far south as Kanchi in 641 A.D. and presumably seeing the Ajanta caves. According to Cunningham, Hsuan Tsang visited Kapilavastu on 25th December 636 A.D. and then proceeded towards Lumbini.

He reached his native country back in early 645 A.D. after having completed a really wonderful journey. Like his predecessor Fa-Hsien, he, too, took with him a large and valuable collection of manuscripts, images and relics. He spent the reminder of his life in translating more than 600 Buddhist books he had taken from India. Altogether he translated more than 1300 volumes, which have since then become an invaluable asset to researchers on Buddhism and history of that time in as much as many of the original copies in India itself were lost. His accounts of Lumbini and Kapilavastu are extremely helpful not only for knowing the condition of these places at that period but also for deciding their location at present. In fact our indebtedness to this great savant for identification of Lumbini and Kapilavastu cannot be too highly expressed. He, too, wrote an account of his travel entitled *Record of Western Travels* (also called *Travel or Records of Western Lands),* comprising twelve parts, the last three being said to have been interpolated (Pradhan, 44: 1995).

Yuan Chwang's travel accounts have been translated into various languages. The more commonly recognized are S. Julien's *Histoire* *de la vie de Hiouenthsang et de ses voyages dans I'Inde*, Paris 1853 (in the French language), S. Beal's *Si-yu-ki Buddhist Record of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang A.D. 629, (2 vols), New Delhi, 1983 (in English, reprinted), T. Watter's *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India* (A.D. 629-645), (2 vol), New Delhi, 1973 (in English, reprinted).

c. *Yuan Chwang's description of the Krakuchhanda Buddha's native place:*

Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A.D. mentions that starting apparently from the neighborhood of Sravati, he continued his journey, and going south-east for above 500 *li* he came to the country of Kapilavastu. (The capital of Kapilavastu was called by the same name). He gives a detailed description of the capital. After visiting the surroundings of the city he proceeds on:

> To the south of the city going 50 *li* or so, we come to an old town where there is a *stupa*. This is the place where Krakuchhanda Buddha was born, during the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to 60,000 years. To the south of the city, not far, there is a *stupa*; this is the place where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father. To the south-east of the city is a *stupa* where are that Tathagata's relics (*of his bequeathed body*); before it is erected a stone pillar about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. By its side (*or* on its side) is a record relating the circumstances of his Nirvana. It was erected by Asoka-raja (Beal, 18-19: 1983).

This is a very important reference that this pilgrim has seen the inscription on the pillar at Gotihawa. He clearly mentions in his account "a record relating the circumstances of his nirvana." Unfortunately the inscriptional parts of the pillar broken off after his visit and remain lost till today.

According to Yuan Chwang, Krakuchhanda's city was 50 *li* to the south of Kapilavastu and Kanakamuni's city a few *li* to the south-east of Kapilavastu, while Fa-shien places Kanakamuni's city to the west and Krakuchhanda's city to the south-west of Kapilavastu. There is thus, as Cunningham has observed, a serious difference between the pilgrims as to the locations of these two old cities. Yet the two pilgrims are in tolerable agreement as to the distance and direction of Sravasti from Kapilavastu.

In the Buddhist books various names are given to the cities feigned to have been the homes or birthplaces of the two Past Buddhas of the passage, but without any indication as to the localities in which the cities were situated. Thus Krakuchhanda Buddha's city is called *Wu-wei* or "Fearless" and *An-ho* or "peaceful harmony" and *shu* (sometimes written *Lun)-ha-li-ti-na* or Suhridin, perhaps the original for *An-ho* (Watters, 6: 1973).

King Ripu Malla's visit to the Krakuchhanda Buddha's native place:

In the 14th century A.D., King Ripu Malla from western Nepal went to Lumbini and engraved a Mahayana Buddhist mantra in the first line, his name in the second line and probably his nephew's name in the third line at the top to the south-eastern corner of the pillar there (the first line reads "Om mani padme hum", the second line "Sri Ripu Malla chiram jayatu" and the third line "Sangrama Malla"). After this pilgrimage, he visited another holy site at Niglihawa, the birthplace of the Kanakamuni Buddha. (These places thus had retained the status of pilgrimage destinations down to the time of Ripu Malla). There he again engraved the same mantra and his name and the date of his visit. This date is important for historians. It is most probable, therefore, that he visited the Krakuchhanda's Buddha's place of birth, another popular pilgrim site at that time. There also he probably engraved his name and the date of his visit on the pillar there. As mentioned earlier, this was an ill-fated pillar, which has not survived intact. The engravings of Ripu Malla's name at Lumbini and Niglihawa indicate that down to the time of Ripu Malla, Lumbini and Kapilavastu were widely known as the birthplace and homeland of The Buddha. Dana Bajra Bajracharya, a famous epigraphist from Kathmandu, infers from this that Lumbini and Kapilavastu must have been a part of the Karnali Malla kingdom down to the time of Ripu Malla (Pradhan, 51: 1979).

Krakuchhanda Buddha's native place after Ripu Malla: After Ripu Malla's visit, Lumbini and Kapilavastu slowly converted into bushland and remained obscure for a long time. Some scholars believe that this was due to the revival of Hinduism and the Muslim invasions. But there is a lack of historical and archaeological evidence of any damage caused by these religious groups.

B.L. Pradhan offers a different explanation of this. He believes that the rulers of the time did not devote proper attention to the development of these holy sites. He has given a long historical sketch of the region and put forward the opinion that Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.) and Aurangzeb (1668-1707 A.D.) were mainly the ones responsible for the desolation of the Lumbini and Kapilavastu region and its cultural heritage. Even Mukunda Sena I (1540-1575 A.D.), Mukunda Sena II (1750-1782 A.D.) and Mahadutta Sena (1782-1793 A.D.), who ruled the region from Palpa, could not preserve the religious dignity of the sites, and the result was that they were lost in a dense forest (Pradhan, 30-32: 1979).

Krakuchhanda's native place: the archaeological concern:

Fa-hsien places the old city of Krakuchhanda 12 *yojana*s to the south-east of Sravasti, and Yuan Chwang mentions that 500 *li* or so south-east from this point (Sravasti), we come to the country of Kie-pi-lo-fa-sse-ti (Kapilavastu). It is certain that both travellers journeyed south-east from Sravasti and arrived at the country of Kapilavastu. To discover Sravasti was the main goal of the early archaeologists, historians and scholars. They explored extensively the north-western part of the former kingdom. Buddhist literature also mentions that the western border of the kingdom of Kapilavastu kingdom was the river Acchiravati (the present-day Rapti) about 200 km west of Lumbini. Given these references, Sravasti must have been somewhere on the bank of this river Rapti, and following the Chinese travellers' descriptions and directions, attention was focused present-day Nepalgunj and its environs.

The search made by V.A. Smith:

Vincent Smith explored extensively in and around Nepalgunj in 1898 to locate the exact position of Sravasti. He published a long report of his exploration in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* that same year. His report will be reproduced here for researchers, historians and students of archaeology.

Measuring back from this fixed point to Kapilavastu as determined by the Nigliva pillar near Kanakamuni's stupa, and Hieun Tsiang's itinerary, and thence north-west "500 *li* or so" (13 *yojanas* nearly in Fa-hian), we reach a point in Nepalese territory near the foot of the hills and not many miles from the Nepalgunj Road Station, on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, which station is distant about 163 miles distant from Gorakhpur.
Being convinced by a careful study of the maps and the data given by the Chinese pilgrims that Set (Sahet) Mahet, the reputed site of Sravasti, could not possibly be the real site, which must be not far from Nepalgunj, I determined to verify my deductions at the earliest opportunity.

By the kind offices of Colonel H. Wylie, then Resident at Kathmandu, the necessary passes for Dr. Vost, (Civil Surgeon of Gonda, in Oudh, who is known to the numismatic world as a learned and accurate student of Indian Muhammadan coins. His native agents collected some preliminary information, which, though not accurate, was of much service in guiding our local inquiries) and myself were granted by the Prime Minister of Nepal. At the end of October 1897, we managed to arrange the trip, which I now proceed to describe from notes recorded, with the concurrence of Dr. Vost, on the evening of the 29th October, while all details were fresh in our memory. I venture to head the narrative as that of:

The discovery of Sravasti:

Dr. Vost and I left Nepalgunj Road Station on the morning of the 28th October 1897, and marched with elephants and a light camp via Nepalgunj to Balapur.

The distance from the railway station to the town of Nepalgunj is about four miles east of north along a good road. Having paid our respects to the local Nepalese Subba, or District Officer, we proceeded along a bad road, which was in many places flooded, about six miles, in a direction a little north of east, to Kamdi. This village, a poor place, stands on a low mound which seems to be mostly natural, although another mound to the south contains potsherds, and is at least in part artificial. The Dhunraha Nadi flows to the west of the village.

We pitched our camp in a grove near Balapur, at a distance of about half a mile east of north from Kamdi, and about the same distance west of the Sidhania ferry over the Rapti.

The edge of the forest comes down close to the village of Balapur. At a point in the forest distant about half a mile from the village, we found a very extensive area of low mounds running approximately from south-west to north-east. Though we could not determine the exact extent of these ruins, we satisfied ourselves as to their large dimensions by walking about them for nearly an hour. The site appears to be extremely ancient. It is covered with forest in many places all but impenetrable, and is deeply scored by watercourses. No distinct traces of any separate building could be made out. The whole area was worn down by the action of the weather, and the bricks on the surface were, for the most part, reduced to gravel. We picked up some small and much defaced fragments of terra-cotta figures, indicating the existence of decorated buildings. By forcing our way through dense jungle across ravines we reached at a distance about four miles from Balapur, in a north-easterly direction on the bank of the Rapti, a spot known as Intawa (i.e. brick ruins), and found there a small and low circular brick structure about 30 feet in diameter. This building except in so far as it has been opened on the south side down to ground level by treasure-seekers, is in good order, and is certainly a *stupa* of early date. The bricks are large slabs, measuring nine inches in width. No specimen on the surface was sufficiently perfect to allow of its length being determined.

Another mound of brickwork, not so well preserved, was noticed to the south of the *stupa*, and fragments of brick and potsherds are discernible in the riverbank for about half a mile southwards and to the depth of many feet. We were informed that the remains were formerly much more extensive. The river has largely eroded them, which run at this spot with great force down a rather steep incline, and is still daily cutting into the bank and destroying trees. We were told of masonry wells, which for a long time stood out in the riverbed and have recently been carried away. The Rapti turns to the south just above Intawa, and the bend must be two or three miles in width. The banks are covered with forest in all directions, both above and below the bend. We heard of ruins at Nania, north of the bend and also at Parari, to the north of Nania.

Our investigations had to be hurriedly closed by the approaching darkness of night, and it was dark before we reached our tents. The people in Nepal are very timid about giving information to Europeans, and we were consequently unable to extend our researches. Enough, however, was learned to prove beyond doubt that Intawa marks the site of an extremely ancient and considerable settlement on the west bank of the Rapti. (There are indications of old riverbeds near Balapur and Kamdi, which may possibly mean that at some remote period the river flowed further west than it now does. It is now moving westwards.)

From native information we gathered that very extensive remains exist or: and are buried in the forest north-west of Balapur and west of Intawa. The remains are said to extend over twelve villages in Tappa Dhaunrihar. We ascertained the names of seven of these villages, namely, Khajura, Mandadih, Chakla-Mahadeo, Kari Langri, Ijarwa, Kumdhik, and Imilia. Kumdhik is the name given to the tract of forest south and south-west of Intawa. So far as we saw, the only inhabitants are a few wandering herdsmen occupying temporary huts. Many mounds exist in the Kumdhik region, but a hasty glance at some of them while passing through dense forest did not enable us to determine whether any of them were artificial or not. Shisham (*Dalbergia sisso*) tree are numerous, and look like the descendants of planted trees.

The remains at Khajura are said to cover a very large area, and to be the most extensive of all. The position of Khajura was indicated as being about a *kos* (a kos = about one and half kilometer) in a northerly direction from Balapur. The positions of Khajura, Balapur, Kamdi, and Intawa are marked with approximate correctness in the accompanying map. They are not marked on the original map, and having little time and no surveying instruments, we could not determine positions with absolute accuracy.

We heard vague accounts of some sort of ancient building at Mandadih, which lies somewhere west of Khajura, and about five miles in northwesterly directions from Balapur.

Ruins are said to exist at another Balapur near the base of the hills. The distance from Balapur to the foot of the hills seemed to be about sixteen miles, although the map makes it much less. It must be remembered that the portion of the map based on actual survey comprises only a narrow strip, up to about the latitude of Nepalgunj, adjoining the present border. This strip was at one time British territory, and was ceded to Nepal.

The tract at the foot of the hills named Udain, and the road into the hills ascends from Obari.

The general result of our inquiries and observations is, that ruins extend for a distance of six or seven miles in a northerly direction from Kamdi and Balapur, where our camp was, and for a distance of several miles west from Intawa, which now stands on the bank of the river.

The indications point to the existence of an extensive city with outlying towns and buildings occupying the tract between Balapur and the hills, which is now covered with dense forest.

We are of opinion that the remains in that tract which we saw and heard of are certainly the remains of the great city of Sravasti, which was already in ruins when Fa-hian visited it in or about A.D. 406 (After Fa-hian set out from Ch'ang-gan, it took him six years to reach Central India, stoppages then extended over (onother) six years: and on his return it took him three years to reach Ts'ing-chow (Ch. xl; Legge, p. 115). Fa-hian started on his journey "in the second year of the period II wang-che being the Kehae year of the cycle." Legge interprets this to mean A.D. 399 (p. 9). Giles (p. x) points out that there may be an error of a year. The reason is that at the above period the various States were separated from and contending with each other, and the style of the reign was recklessly changed sometimes annually, sometimes even oftener, without there being any fixed rule. Fa-hien, therefore, started in either A.D. 399 or 400, and reached the valley of the Ganges, which he calls Central or Mid-India, six years later. His journey to Sravasti must have occupied a considerable time. (He cannot have arrived there earlier that A.D. 405 or 406). No surprise need be felt at the fact that the remains of a city so long dissolute are now indistinct and inconspicuous.

Although it is impossible at present to identify particular buildings at the site of Sravasti, it is desirable that the future explorer should know exactly what he has to look for. The ruins of the buildings in and around the Jetavan must form an immense mass extending over a wide area (Smith, 527-530: 1898). (Skt. 1)

Locations of Sravasti favoured by scholars:

Dr. Fuhrer also indicated the location of Sravasti on the basis of the direction given by the Chinese pilgrims:

I have, however, reliable information which tends to prove that the ruins of Sravasti are to be found in the Nepalese Tarai, on the left bank of the Rapti, the ancient Achiravati, close to the modern village of Materiya, just 15 miles north-east of Charda. The two monoliths of Asoka, erected in front of the Jetavana monastery in Anathapindika's Park, are said to be still *in situ*, which information I hope to verify in the winter season of 1897- 98 (Fuhrer, 35: 1972). But there is no evidence that he verified these sites.

Mukherji has the same opinion as Smith and Fuhrer:
I may therefore suggest that after a visit to Sahet Mahet, exploration may be undertaken near Nepalgunj, a few miles north of which Vincent Smith believes that he has discovered the ancient site of Sravasti. The Asokan pillars, which is said to exist somewhere near Bairat, a deserted site in Pargana Kolhiva of Tehsil Nepalgunj, or near Matiari on the Rapti and the same Teḥsil, should be searched for (Mukherji, 59: 1969).

Khadga Shumsher J.B.R. published a series of three articles on *Buddhist Archaeology in the Nepal Tarai* in 1904. Though he suspected Sravasti to be somewhere in the north-western part of Nepal, he had no clear idea of its exact location. He writes:

To us moderns, the terms "Kingdom" and "City" as understood in Buddha's time should not prove deceptive, although we read of the *Baishias* (the 22nd) the *Chaubishias*, (the 24th), and the so-called "Rajahs" of the hills. "Kingdoms" were merely Taluqas;

villages went by the name of "cities"; while "Taluqdars" were honoured with the title of "Kings" oftener than not, owing allegiance to one monarch called the *Chakravartin*, would cause quarreling among themselves.

Sravasti is said to be an old city mentioned in Sanskrit works. It lies in *Uttar Kosala*, the northern part of Oudh. It was, no doubt, located near the hills, the people of Sravasti having had constant brush with the hill men (Rockhill, p. 71). In any case, it could not have been far from Kapilavastu, with which a regular road connected it. This road very probably lay through Surahi, Deukhor and Dang.

I am told that Surkhet lies 90 miles to the north-west of Kapilavastu - the word "khet" meaning a field or *bustee*; both in bearing and distance, I am satisfied it is the site of Sravasti and Siket. Surkhet is bounded on the north by the districts of Salyan and Daye-lakhe (probably *Devaloka* of the ancients): on the south by the district of Banki, which seems to be the country called Vaku in Rockhill p. 118; on the east by Dang; and on the west by the hills; on the north of the river Sarada. The distance from Banki or Vaku or Nepalgunj to Surkhet is about 36 miles to the north, say, and three days' journey. Surkhet is a valley surrounded by the first range of the hills, with a length, from north to south, of 25 miles and a breadth of eight miles. The valley is almost desolate now-majestic sal trees and bamboo topes growing in solitary grandeur around it, - and is interspersed with a few straggling hamlets of which the names of Ramrikad, Deovali, Danda deserve a mention. A friend of mine, who at my request inspected the places, tells me that "Ramrikad", or the beautiful "arrow" of Bhimsen means nothing but an octagonal pillar tapering towards the top. Can this be one of the pillars mentioned by Hienthsiang? This question has yet to be solved.

Cereals grow in abundance, a rupee fetching a mound of rapeseed. Unfortunately the whole tract now stands devoid of its original productive power. Wild beasts, including elephants, roam about undisturbed. I am glad to be able to say that steps are being taken by the present enlightened Government to fertilize the soil. But I deeply regret to say at the same time that in regards to archaeological investigations no orders have been issued. This is regrettable indeed.

The place is said to contain some interesting ruins. Unfortunately, the information reached me at the fag end of my touring season, when the much dreaded malarial fever makes its appearance. I have, therefore, included the examination of this place in my program for next year, when I hope to be able to test the correctness, or otherwise, of my surmise bordering on conviction that Surkhet is the real Sravasti or Saketa. In his conversation with the The Buddha, Ananda says (*vide* Rockhill, p. 136: "Lord, there are the six great cities of Sravasti, Saketa, Campa, Varanasi, Vaisali, Rajgriha and others besides. Why then has the blessed one seen fit to reject these and decide to die in this poor village?") I should not wonder if further explorations reveal the fact that Sravasti and Saketa were neighboring places-Dang, Deokhor and Surkhet of the present time.

I am told that further west of Banki, somewhere near Bairat, there is a deserted site in Pergunnah Kulu Hawa, Tehsil Nepalgunj, or near Matiari on the Rapti, (*vide* P.C. Mukherji's report, p. 59). This place, I think, might turn out to be the Vaku of the ancients. And next comes Champa. Taking into consideration the question as to what would be the sites of the various ruins in Chamghar, Gorsingha and Budhi in the Tuppa (sub-district) of Chhap bordering on Kapilavastu, and also lying on the west of it, I am under the impression that this place is the ancient Campa, corresponding to *Champa*, the flower bearing that name. And from Champa to Champ and then to Chhap, is by no means a big jump, especially if we take count of the intervening period of 2000 years (Rana, 1-3: 2045 B.S.).

T.W. Rhys Davids in his book *Buddhist India* acknowledges that Sravasti is in Nepal. He points out that:

> The Kosalas were the ruling clan in the kingdom whose capital was Savatthi, in what is now Nepal, seventy miles north-west of modern Gorakhpur. It included Benares and Saketa; and probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gandhak for its eastern boundary. The Sakiyas already acknowledged, in the seventh century B.C., the suzerainty of Kosala (Davids, 25: 1971).

The above statements of various scholars clearly specify that Sravasti lies somewhere in the western part of Nepal on and around the bank of the river Rapti. Regrettably, after Smith and Dr. Vost, no Nepalese archaeologists have ever attempted to explore that area and produce any report.

The Royal Asiatic Society and archaeology:

Sir William Jones formed the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784 A.D. in order to promote the study of the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia. One of the greatest achievements of this institution was James Princep's discovery of the key to the Brahmi script in 1837. This decipherment helped archaeology to free itself from its antiquarian and literary affiliations.

Sir Alexander Cunningham, the director general of the Archaeological Survey of India for 15 years starting 1871 conducted countrywide explorations of archaeological remains in India. He traced the route taken by the Chinese pilgrims and rediscovered many important Buddhist sites in India, which had been forgotten many centuries ago.

In Nepal, the rulers kept the country closed to foreigners, and no archaeological investigations and activities were allowed. The pioneer archaeologist of that time could locate nither the birthplace of The Buddha nor other important Buddhist sites like Kapilavastu (where Prince Siddhartha spent his first 29 years), the places where the earlier Buddhas Krakuchhanda and Kanakamunis were born andattained nirvana, the site where the Sakyas were massacred, the Koliya kingdom of Ramagrama, and many other sites visited by and described in the travel accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. As archaeologists were not allowed to explore the Nepalese Tarai, they were bound to merely speculate about the above-mentioned sites and concentrate on Basti district in the United Provinces of India. One of the major problems was that there was no map of the Nepalese Tarai so that it was no easy task to examine the region. The locations of these sites were only a hypothetical stab in the dark.

Nepalese archaeology in the 19th century:

The last decade of the 19th century was a very important era in terms of archaeological activities, especially on the Nepalese side of the boarder. The report, in newspapers of March 1893, of Major Jaskaran Singh's discovery of a pillar of Asoka at Bairat, a deserted site in Pergana Kolhuwas of Tehsil Nepalgunj, attracted for the first time the attention of archaeologists and orientalists towards this part of the Nepalese Tarai, whose potentiality had hitherto been unknown. This news had created great curiosity among scholars.

Dr. Führer in the Tarai in 1895:

Dr. Fuhrer, an archaeological surveyor in the North-western Provinces and Oudh Circle, was deputed to take an imprint of the inscription on the said pillar in March 1895. He found the pillar not at Bairat but at the edge of a large manmade pool called Nigalisagar. Soon thereafter Fuhrer received news about a second pillar near Bhagawanpur (close to Rummin-dei). The purport of the inscription on the lower fragment of the pillar at Nigalisagar created a great sensation among scholars. L.A. Waddell was the first to point out that the pillar, containing a record of Asoka enlargement of the stupa of Kanakamuni (which lay within a kilometre of Kapilavastu according to Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang), would be a sure indicator of the lost site of Kapilavastu, hitherto searched too far to the south, in Gorakhpur and Basti districts of India. The government of India moved the Nepal exgovernment to grant permission to explore the area around Nigalisagar (Mitra, 5: 1972).

a. Dr. Fuhrer in the Nepalese Tarai in 1896

Dr. Fuhrer applied on the 12th of May and 29th of June 1896 through the government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh to the Foreign Department, India, for help in obtaining the sanction of the Kathmandu Darbar for an exploration to be made of the ruins near Nigliva as far as Bhagavanpur, 15 miles east-south-east of Tauliva, where he had learned that another pillar bearing a supposed Asoka inscription was still standing. On the 29th of August the government of India, in its letter No.1508 E.B., informed the resident in Nepal: "It has been decided that, if the Nepal Darbar grant the necessary permission, Dr. A. Fuhrer, Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, will be deputed to conduct explorations."

In his letter dated the 7th of September 1896, addressed to the secretary to the government of India in the Foreign Department, Colonel H. Wylie, C.S.I., the resident at Nepal wrote in reply, "His Excellency the Prime Minister has informed me that his brother General Khadga Shumsher, Governor of Palpa, would be directed to meet Dr. Fuhrer at Nigliva, and would be ready to receive suggestions from him regarding the contemplated excavation amongst the ruins of Buddha Konagamana's Nirvana stupa" (Fuhrer, preface: 1972).

With the invaluable assistance and enthusiasm of General Khadga Shumsher, Dr. Fuhrer was successful in exploring many ruined sites in and around Kapilavastu and excavating the Lumbini Asoka pillar. During the exploration he visited the sites of Krakuchhanda's birth and nirvana. In his monograph he writes:

The ruins of this large ancient city still exist between the modern villages of Lori-ki-Kudan and Gotiva, about 2 miles south-west of Taulihawa, and about 8½ miles south-west of the Srinagar of Sirinagar Sagar, near which stood the southern gate of Kapilavastu. The three stupas and monasteries mentioned by Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsiang are still visible and Krakuchhanda's Nirvana stupa, standing in the middle of the village of Gotihva, still raises to a height of about eighty feet Asoka's Lion-pillar, with its edict, however, does not exists any longer above ground, and undoubtedly lies buried amongst the debris of Nirvana stupa. The three boulders worshipped as mahadeos, and lying close to the relic shrine of Kakusandha Buddha, are no fragments of this pillar (Fuhrer, 19: 1972).

b. Dr. Fuhrer in the Nepalese Tarai in 1897

Dr. Fuhrer was once again commissioned, on the 17th of December 1897, to assist and advise the government of Nepal in the supervision of the excavation. The excavation was concentrated at the edge of the large manmade pool called Lambu Sagar, in Sagrahawa village in Kapilavastu district.

Dr. Fuhrer mentions in his Sagrahawa excavation report that he again visited the Krakuchhanda Buddha's place of origin. According to him:

Hiun Tsiang's account proved to be correct. As stated in his itinerary, Kakkusandha Buddha's relic-stupa, with its Asoka Edict pillar, stood about six miles to the south of Kapilavastu. This direction pointed to the modern village of Gotihva, just 2.5 miles southwest of Taulihawa, where a high conical-shaped brick mound still exists. On excavating the western side of this mound, we alighted upon a broken Asoka column, still 10'-9" high standing *in situ* upon a masonry basement, being one solid block of stone measuring 7 feet by 5'-9" by 1 foot. Its circumference is 8'-8" below and 8'-3" above or 5 inches more than that of the Rummindei pillar. As the season had already far advanced, we were unable to continue our researches in order to trace the missing portion of this pillar, on which no doubt Asoka's edict was engraved (Fuhrer, 3: 1897-98).

This report of Dr. Fuhrer indicates that in 1896 he did not observe the pillar, in 1897, when he conducted the excavation and found this third such structure in the region. The 80-foot stupa mentioned by him in 1896 is "a high conical-shaped brick mound" in 1897. He did not mention three boulders (possibly pieces of the pillars) worshipped as Mahadeos during his visit in 1897.

Various views of scholars on Krakuchhanda's native place:

B. L. Pradhan states in his book *Lumbiin Kapilawastu Dewadaha* that "Carllyle discovered this pillar in 1904." He further writes: "It was then only partially visible and the inscription on it was said to have been very faint." But Pradhan has provided no references to back up this statement.

Mitra in her report notes: "the stupa of Gotihawa in which a trench had been laid by Waddell from the center to the circumference towards the pillar, re-examined the sites noticed by Fuhrer." (I have failed to trace Waddell's excavation report).

Vincent A. Smith's *Prefatory Note* on Mukherji's explorations and excavations report on Kapilavastu region states the following:

Palta Devi in the Indian side, U.P. represents Krakuchhanda's town…

Thus the identity of Palta Devi with Krakuchhanda's town is deduced from the measurements of Fa-hien on the assumption that Piprava = Kapilavastu, and from the measurement of Hiuen Tsiang on the assumption that the Tilaura-kot group = Kapilavastu. I have already shown independently that both pilgrims probably identified the same places as the towns of Krakuchhandra and Konagamana respectively. That probability may now be considered a certainly, and the identification of Palta-Devi with Krakuchhanda's town becomes highly probable (Smith, 10: 1969).

P.C. Mukherji partly documented the drawings of L.A. Waddell's excavation, a narrow trench connecting the center of the stupa with the pillar in his report in 1901.

Mukherji on his tour of exploration in the Tarai in 1899 visited Gotihawa and provides a detailed description of Gotihawa in the following:

About 4 miles south and a little west of Tilaura-kot and about 3 miles west and a little south of Tauliva is Gotiva. In the center of the villages is a large brick stupa, 68 feet in diameter, and still about 9 feet in height. Seventy feet south-west from the center and 32½ feet from the outer rim of the stupa stands the lower portion of an ancient pillar of the Priyadarsi style, of which the upper portion is gone. Only a small portion is visible above the ground, which is known as *Phutesvara* Mahadeva, "the broken lord." Major Waddell re-excavated around it down to 10 feet, and the round face of the lower portion of the pillar became visible; for Dr. Fuhrer had opened it before. It stood on a large granite slab, 7' × 5'8½" × 10' thick. The pillar itself is hard sandstone of a yellowish colour, as is the case with all constructions of a similar shape. The pillar stands 1'-10" and 1'-10½" from the eastern and southern, 2'-2½" from the western and 1'-1½" from the northern edge of the pedestal. Below the pedestal is brick masonry as the bedding for the pedestal and pillar. The girth of the pillar is respectively 8'-7" and 8'-2" at 1'-10" and 6'-8" above the pedestal; 4' 6" above the pedestal are four rough squares, 6" in each side, which are a little in relief from the polished surface.

There are three fragments of this pillar lying neglected in the village, of which one is a portion of the bell-shaped base of the capital, which crowned it. It is 1'-7" in height and still about 1'-8½" broad. It has the usual festoons, broad and narrow, respectively, 2" and 1¼" thick, which are however, defaced. These fragments are called *gutis* (broken pieces), from which the name of Gotiva is derived. Lori Ahir of the local legend is said to have played with them by throwing them up and catching them with his hands.

Returning to the stupa, which I had traced by superficial excavation, Major Waddell dug a deep trench from the center to the circumference in the direction of the pillar. In the center, he broadened the hole to 6'-6" in diameter and 9'-3" in depth. The solid brickwork terminated at 7'-6" from the top. Going down 1'-9" further down in the soil, he found a large number of bones, which did not appear to have belonged to man. The teeth were many and certainly belonged to animals. A few pieces of charcoal were also discovered. There was nothing interesting in them. The original central hole, which came down from the top, was about 6" wide, where, at the time of the construction of the stupa, a wooden pole, called Linga in Nepal, was most probably fixed to describe the circumference, as it rose decreasingly, and to support the *Torana*, *Churamani* and *Chhatra* (umbrella). (Skt. 2)

On the north of the village is an ancient ditch, and about 200 feet south of the stupa is an ancient tank. About two furlongs north of Gutiva is a large mound, on the east and south of which are two tanks. And on the west there appeared the dry bed of an ancient ditch or channel. Excavation might yield some remains (Mukherji, 31-32: 1969).

Mukherji came to a conclusion supporting the Chinese travellers' accounts:

If I am justified in reducing the distance from 50 to about 20 *li*, or about 4 miles, the *yojana* of Fa-Hian, then the ruins at Gotiva answer well our purpose of identification; for here is a brick stupa, near which is the lower portion of an Asoka pillar known as Phuteswar Mahadeva. Since the upper portion is broken, the inscription is lost. This pillar might attest the *Nirvana* stupa of Krakuchhanda, which I traced and Major Waddell dug and found a large number of bones, consisting of teeth, thigh bones etc. They appeared as belonging more to beasts than to men; and it seems very probable that, when, long after the death of the saint, the Buddha-lore degenerated into legends, and fables grew into myths some Bhikshus, long before the visit of the Chinese pilgrims, committed, as they say "pious frauds" by burying some bones of the cattle and extolling them as the sariras (relics) of Krakuchhnda, and built a stupa over them.

North-west of this stupa, I could not find another. But about two furlongs north-east of the village is a very high mound, which might represent either the stupa of Krakuchhnda's meeting with his father, or the place where he was born. But the latter appears to be the more probable site. There are a few ancient tanks in the neighborhood (Mukherji, 55; 1969).

The statements of Mukherji on Gotihawa clearly identify the precise place of origin of the Krakuchhanda Buddha. The broken Asoka pillar and big recently excavated stupa from the 3rd century B.C. at the site afford enough.

Khadga Shumsher JBR accepted Mukherji's views, his opinions being made known in articles titled "Buddhist Archaeology in the Nepal Tarai" in 1904. These articles were re-printed by the National Archives, D.O.A., Kathmandu in 2047 B.S. Rana gives a long description of Gotihawa:

It has a ruin and near it, a pillar, which has been unearthed again this year, at the request of a friend of mine, to make doubly sure that there was no inscription on it. It is a pillar of red stone, fitted on a rough granite slab *in situ,* though the upper part is broken. It is 10 feet 2 inches in height and is no doubt an Asoka pillar. About 4½ feet above the base are four rough squares in relief over the polished surface of the pillar round the circumference. These squares are possibly the original unpolished surface of the stone and indicate the marks left by four cubical iron or wooden handles of the mechanism which held the piece of stone horizontal, when it was turned round and polished, and wrought into a pillar. Three other broken pieces were found in the village; one, near the central part where there is a well, was already installed as a genuine phallic *linga*; it is 2 feet 3 inches in height and is probably a portion of the upper part of the pillar; but the second piece lying, near a thatch, must be the capital; it is shaped like a lotus. Unfortunately, the portion, which might have contained inscriptions, was nowhere to be found. The pillar was carefully examined, but no inscription was found on it.

The place is the Nepeakea of the Chinese travellers; the *Nipakya* meaning a place belonging to a family of Kings; and, as such, it cannot but be the town of Krakuchhanda Buddha, a relative of Buddha's. The distance, 50 *li* from the city, as given by the Chinese travellers (Beal, p. 18), surely tallies with it. The origin of the name, Gotihawa, seems to be the Sanskrit *Gosthi*, meaning family connections or relatives. And the very fact that Asoka Raja is credited with the erection of a pillar in Krakuchhanda's town, coupled with the fact that the only remaining pillar is said to be in Kapilavastu, cannot but lead one to the conclusion that this is Kraku's birthplace (Rana, 7-8: 2045 B.S.).

Three years after the publication of Rana's articles, interesting information came to lidht about the broken Asoka pillar. The *District Gazette* of Uttar Pradesh provides details: The old temple of Palta Devi in Alidapur (near Birdpur, on the way to Naugarh, and about 12 km. south from Kakrahawa, Nepal border) is probably of the rare date. The *lingam* might well be one of the missing Asoka pillars, but the attendant priests who are Atits of Bakhira not unnaturally refuse to allow an excavation of the site" (U.P. Gazette, vol. 32, 1907). The site of the Palta Devi temple is not very far from Gotihawa village, about 12 km south-east of it. Generally Hindu people believe that any rounded column is a Mahadeva or *linga*. Even the villagers of Gotihawa worship the broken Asoka pillar as Phutesvara Mahadeva or the "broken Lord Shiva." So, most probably the *lingam* worshipped in the Palta Devi temple was a fragment of the ill-fated Asokan pillar of Gotihawa. No thorough re-examination of this *lingam* has ever been carried out.

After a long interval of time, in February 1962, the government of India sanctioned the deputation of Mrs. Devala Mitra (at that time superintendent, Eastern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India), for three months and half to carry out excavations and explorations in the Lumbini-Kapilavastu area in the central Tarai in Nepal.

During her campaign in the Nepal Tarai, she visited Gotihawa and explored the site. According to her report the archaeological site lies in the village of Gotihawa 4 km south-west of Taulihawa. When she explored the site, the lower portion of the Asoka pillar was found situated inside a brick-lined square pit (as it is even today) made during the Buddha Jayanti celebrations in 1956. However, the bottom of the pit is much lower than the surrounding ground; there is an accumulation of rainwater inside the pit, which has no outlet for drainage. Consequently, the lower part of the pillar remains under water throughout the year.

She observed the pillar and reported the following:
The extant stump, 3 m 25 cm high, stands *in situ*, on a slab of 2 m 13.3 cm (north-south) by 1 m 74 cm (east-west). On this slab is an incised circle, 3 m 25 cm in circumference, inside which but not in the exact center rests the stump. The circumference of the pillar is 2 m 61.6 cm and 2 m 50.1cm respectively at the height of 25.4 cm and 1 m 82.9 cm from the base. Unlike the Asoka pillar at Lumbini, Sanchi, Sarnath and Delhi-Topra, the lower part (meant to be embedded) of which is rough and hammer dressed, it is finished from the very base. Further, there are four rough oblongs (about 20 cm high in three cases and 25 cm high in one

case), two at a height of 1 m 16.8 cm one at 1 m 18.1 cm and the fourth at 1 m 13 cm from the base. Similar roughened squares, also four in number, are noticed only on the extant pillar of the Mauryan hall at Kumrahar. The oblongs with rough surfaces were evidently intended as grips for the horizontal bars that spanned the interspaces between the pillars of the hall. The pillar of Kumrahar is also polished right down to the base. From these features it may be presumed that the pillar of Gotihawa at the time of its fashioning at the work-site (possibly, at Kumrahar itself) was designed for a structure. The decision to transport it as a freestanding pillar was taken possibly when it was found to be in excess of the requirements (Mitra, 228: 1972). (Pl. 1)

She further states:

The stone of this pillar and that of the two fragments of the upper part of an inscribed Asokan pillar that lie on the bank of the Nigali-sagar are identical. As already noticed by P.C. Mukherji, the pillar of Nigali-sagar is not *in situ*. Traces of any ancient vestiges, not to speak of the *stupa* of Kanakamuni, which the pillar commemorated, are not in sight within the immediate neighborhood. It was evidently brought from some other site. The possibility of the Nigali-sagar fragments forming part of the Gotihawa column cannot be entirely ruled out. The upper portion of the Gotihawa pillar is missing, but a major part of the bell-shaped capital is available. The corresponding lower part of the Nigali-sagar pillar and the capital are missing. The girths of the two fragments of Nigali-sagar are such that they can well be the upper portion of the Gotihawa pillar (Mitra, 229: 1972).

About the stupa at Gotihawa she states:

Adjoining the pillar is the Asokan *stupa*, utterly neglected. Not only stakes have been driven into it for fastening the cows, but also the entire exposed part is being conveniently used for preparing cow-dung cakes. The *stupa* was, no doubt, partially exposed in 1899, but it is very likely that the lower portion of the base is still intact (Mitra, 229: 1972). (Pl. 2)

Mitra dates this stupa to about the 3rd century B.C. She mentions the characters of the stupa of that period in this way:

> The Asokan *stupa* was already a development of the earlier form—a hemispherical mound set up on the ground, the innovation being the introduction of a low cylinder or drum to serve as a base for the object of worship. The top of the drum was also utilized as an elevated processional path in many regions. One interesting feature is a pipe like hole. Significantly enough, the *Divyavadana* (Cowell and Neil's edition, p. 244) mentions the setting up of a pillar, called *yupa*, in the interior of the dome in the center of the stupa (Mitra, 24: 1980).

Mitra in her book *Buddhist Monuments* has further provided observations on the site of Gotihawa, in particular the broken pillar there:

> Gotihawa, with the lower portion of the Asokan pillar and *stupa*, certainly represents the venue of the supposed *nirvana* of either Kanakamuni or Krakuchhanda. It is very likely that the two fragments (one with Asoka's inscription recording the enlargement of the *stupa* of Kanakamuni and erection of the pillar) of the upper portion of an Asokan pillar, at present lying at Nigali-sagar, formed the upper parts of the pillar *in situ* at Gotihawa. As is well known, the upper portion of the Gotihawa pillar is missing, but a major fragment of the bell-shaped capital was found here (removed to the Taulihawa inspection bungalow). The corresponding lower part of the Nigali-sagar pillar and also the capital are missing. The fragments of the Nigali-sagar pillar are smaller than the Gotihawa pillar in diameter, so that the former can easily be the upper parts of the latter, all these fragments being tapering and of identical stone. If this presumption is correct, the *stupa* (which by the size of the bricks looks Asokan) in front of the pillar at Gotihawa is the one of Kanakamuni, which Asoka claims to have enlarged in the inscription on the lower of the two pillar-fragments at Nigali-sagar (Mitra, 252: 1980).

Many scholars do not accept Mitra's observations and hypothesis on the Gotihawa pillar. The Niglihawa pillar cannot, they believe, be the upper part of Gotihawa pillar. They are two different pillars erected in two different places. Some scholars have carried out detailed measurements of these pillars.

Swoyambhu Dhar Tuladhar, a famous architect of Nepal, has done an indepth study of the measurements of Lumbini, Niglihawa and Gotihawa pillars. He completely disagrees with Mitra's observations on the basis of the measurements at Niglihawa and Gotihawa. According to him:
Two pieces of mutilated pillars, one with the edict, have been found on the bank of Niglisagar. The one with the edict is standing slanted sideways which is believed to be about 10'-6" long and the second piece about 14'-9" long lies fallen inside the embankment.

Tuladhar records the measurements taken in Niglihawa by Dr. A. Fuhrer and Purna Chandra Mukherji who visited there in 1895 and 1899 respectively. He recalls that report of Mukherji mentioned "Major Waddell had excavated the pillar to the foundation where he found the broken bottom and absence of any kind of foundation". According to Mukherji and Debala Mitra, the lower pillar is not *in situ*. They conjectured that the two pieces of it were parts of the Gotihawa pillar, though this is very unlikely because diameters do not match.

According to Tuladhar:
The diameter of the top of the Gotihawa pillar is 2'-6" (Debala Mitra and Mukherji measured 2'×7¼" from 4'-8" from the top) while the bottom of the pillar with the edict in Niglihawa is 2'-7" (As per Dr. Fuhrer it is 2'-7¼" and as per Mukherji it is 2'-4½" @ 2'-4" from the top which comes to 2'×6½" at the bottom). The diameter of the bottom of the Niglihawa pillar is larger than that of the Gotihawa pillar. To fit on the top it should be smaller or equal". (Skt. 3)

Tuladhar further notes:
The lower portion of Gotihawa is unlike other pillars, the lower portion is not rough surfaced or hammer dressed but is finished from the very base. There are no damages to the stem like the Niglihawa pillar. The pillar is tapered similar to Lumbini and Niglihawa pillars. Upper parts of them may have been broken due to natural disaster. The sharp edges where the pillar was broken still exist; the edges are not smooth which proves that there has not been any wear and tear of the top from the time the pillar was broken. It may also be possible that the damage to the original pillar took place not that long ago. Unlike other pillars about 4′-6″ above the pedestal there are four rough 6″ squares on each side. According to Debala Mitra the Gotihawa pillar probably was an extra column from some buildings which I feel is highly unlikely for the fact that no Asokan structure has been discovered or believed to have existed which has a large column like it (Tuladhar, 60-61: 1995).

There are various comments published by Nepalese scholars on the Gotihawa pillar and the site, including B.L. Pradhan:
The upper portion of the pillar was only partially visible before. At the initiative of Mahasthavir Dharmaloka the lower portion of the pillar was fully excavated. While the debris around the pillar was dug away, it was found to have been fixed to a stud sticking out to the middle of a square base and protected with brick wall all round. Around the base there were also wide courtyards. The standing portion of the pillar, which is still available to us, is very much similar to the one at Lumbini. At present, there is a tank to the south of this pillar and again to the south of the tank are seen, something that look like the remains of some Buddhist Chaitya or stupa (Pradhan, 19: 1975).

Pradhan subsequently provides the references mentioned by Fa-hsien and Yuan Chwang to this place. He comes to the following conclusion: "From the above-mentioned accounts of the Chinese travellers it follows that the stupa of Gotihawa which is supposed to have been built in memory of Krakuchhanda by Emperor Asoka is the oldest stupa of Kapilavastu,"

He cites statements of Prof. R.N. Pandey:
He, the Emperor Asoka, installed a pillar near the stupa, which contained the story of this Buddha's (Krakuchhanda) salvation and the facts of this king's visit to the site. That pillar is still standing at Gotihawa and is now worshipped as Phuteswor Mahadeva by the people of the village. The town of Krakuchhanda Buddha was one of the very important towns of Kapilavastu; The Buddha (Shakyamuni) had met his father after his enlightenment in this town only.

Besides Gotihawa, Kudan is also believed to be the place of Krakuchhanda. As suggested by V.J. Srivastava, Piprahawa too has a ground to claim to have been the birthplace of Krakuchhanda. At any rate, the pillar stands at Gotihawa and it is the best clue to the final location of Krakuchhanda's birthplace. The exact place of Krakuchhanda has not yet been definitely located. But Gotihawa, on account of the presence of the pillar and a stupa, definitely poses a stronger claim (Pradhan, 19-20: 1975).

Tara Nanda Mishra, a senior archaeologist (now retired) from the Department of Archaeology, HMG/Nepal, states the following:
The nirvana stupa and Asokan pillar found a Gotihawa village might be identified with the nirvana stupa of Krakuchhanda Buddha. The site of Pipri (Northern Black Polished Ware and Grey Ware site of quite big size, nearly one mile north of Gotihawa) may represent the native town of Krakuchhanda Buddha named as "Na-pei-kea." This place is approximately seven miles southwest of Tilaurakot and fits well with the descriptions, direction and distance, as narrated by the Chinese travellers (Mishra, 30: 1978).

There is much more information on the Gotihawa pillar. Readers are referred especially to Huettle, 73-74: (*Archaeological Research on Ancient Buddhist Sites*) 1991; Rijal, 66: (*Ancient*

Nepal No., 22), 1973; Cunningham and Schmidt, 67-68: (*Report And Recommendations to UNESCO*) 1997; Bidari, 23: (*Lumbini,* No. 2) 1996; and Bidari, 6-10: (*Lumbini,* No. 7) 1998. Though there are many articles and notes published in various books and magazines, no scientific exploration and excavation work was carried out until 1993-1994.

The Nepal-Italy joint archaeological team:
His Majesty's Government of Nepal and ISIAO of Italy signed an agreement to carry out the archaeological activities in various sites in Kapilavastu district in 2051 B.S. (1993-94). The first winter the Nepalese-Italian team began its archaeological activities in the district. The whole district is teems with archaeological sites belonging to different cultural horizons. The sites are much more numerous than commonly believed or even reported in the literature. An archaeological mapping of the district is a pressing need. The team focused on Gotihawa and Sisania, two of the three sites, which had assigned to them.

Sisania is a large archaeological mound lying about 12 km south-east of Taulihawa and very close to the Indian border. No excavations were carried out there, but a thorough collection of surface materials was collected, allowing the cultural prospect of the site to be studied.

Prof. Giovanni Verardi, the team director, summarizes the investigations of the team:
There is ample evidence as for instance, iron slogs and glass wastes, pointing to the existence, in Kushana times, of an important craft center. Analyses of the glass materials have already been carried out, and are such as to give us valuable information on the position Sisania held among the production centers of the time. Other artifacts such as wares and terra-cotta figurines point as well to a Kushana horizon. As the deposit is thick at Sisania, proper excavations are needed to detect the nature of its lower level. This is a challenging task, but one which we hope

to carry out in the future" (Verardi, paper presented in *The Silk Roads: Roads and Dialogue*, 1995).

Gotihawa (since 1993-94):

Gotihawa is a well-known site because of the presence of the stump of an Asokan pillar rising next to a stupa. Towards the end of the 19th century the stupa attracted the attention of Major Waddell, who cut a trench running from its centre to the pillar. The Nepalese/Italian (ISIAO) team reopened Waddell's old trench, digging deeper into the natural soil, to about one and a half metre from the top of monument. Part of the stupa was cleared as well from the upper disturbed layers, and its bricks were exposed.

Prof. Verardi reviewed the cultural sequence of the site on the basis of scientific analyses of a sample of charcoal found in one of the lower levels of the deposit. The sequence, as he suspected, goes back to remarkably early times. The charcoal sample has been dated by the Beta Analytic Laboratory (Florida, USA) to BP 2600 ± 60; the sigma calibration results are 815-780 B.C., a very early date for this area, and such as to scotch any idea that no early levels are to be found in the region where the Buddha was born and lived.

According to Prof. Verardi the cultural sequence of the site is as follows:
Above the natural soil the earliest specimens go back here to 10th-9th century B.C. They are, however, not associated with the Neolithic period. This industry continues through time up to the appearance of the Northern Black Polished Ware, characterizing a cultural horizon, which is well known from a great number of sites of the Ganges valley, among which Vaisali can be taken as an example. All these sites are reported to have started in about the 6th century B.C. At Gotihawa, the upper Northern Black Polished Ware levels are characterized by the presence of animal bones, probably relating to ritual meals.

The stupa, built in Mauryan times, is made of wedge-shaped bricks and baked bricks, forming concentric rings, as is the case at Dhamnihawa outside Tilaurakot. Two main building phases have been observed – a third one, made with a different technique, being at present only conjectural. According to the evidence, the stupa remained under worship until Gupta times (Verardi, *ibid*: 1995).

Prof. Verardi (2002) has given details of the remains observed during the excavation as follows:

The stupa:
The brick stupa rising near the Asokan pillar has been fully exposed, revealing a diameter of 22 m, not including the *pradakshinapatha*. The cut made by L.A. Waddell through the structure was enlarged and rectified, allowing us to observe the core of the monument. Two building phases have been noticed, the first corresponding to the original structure, which – as we will see – goes back at least to the time of Asoka, and the second to a later enlargement – or rather, a restoration and strengthening - of the old structure, which can be dated to the first or second century A.D. (Skt. 4)

The Asokan pillar:
The broken part of the pillar, which is standing today, is 3.25 m high and has a diameter of 83/79 cm, stands on a sandstone slab measuring 2.12×1.72×0.26m. (Pl. 3) We gathered additional information and corrected a few mistake made by our predecessors. The foundation slab, besides an incised circle at the center already noticed by Mitra (228: 1972) bears a graffito looking like a simple, geometric rendering of the hills-and-crescent symbol known from other Mauryan monuments and from punch-marked coins.

The slab is of sandstone and not as reported by Mukherji (31: 1901) of granite, as is made known by an analysis carried out on a small sample. Not only the slab of sandstone, but also its bedding is by no means made of brick masonry, as reported by Mukherji (32: 1901).

The early structure:

The few layers below the earliest part of the monuments appear to have been partially levelled when the structure was built. The different stratigraphy in fact relates to an ancient settlement. After the life of the latter came to an end, the archaeological deposit grew very slowly until the new building activity of the Buddhists began.

No trace of any mud stupa preceding the one made of kiln-baked bricks was observed. The bricks show great morphological variety and characteristic fabric. They are trapezoidal, rectangular, triangular or square. Their size is extremely variable within each class, thus suggesting that no standard was in use.

Most bricks bear masons' marks, such as crosses and double crosses, plain circles and circles with inscribed crosses or dashes and short parallel lines – all made by free hand before firing. Statistically their occurrence on the different classes of bricks has not yet been examined, and we cannot say if there is any relation between the marks and the brick classes and/or brick sizes.

The finds:

The materials found in the excavation belong to a horizon which, judging from the assemblages and the chronology they suggest, can be considered typical of the Middle Ganges Valley between the mid-first millennium B.C. or earlier and the first centuries A.D.

Pottery:

Small fragments of Black and Red Ware, the Black Slipped Ware, the Grey Ware, the Impressed Ware common either (both cord-and basket-impressed) or Northern Black Polished Ware, the Painted Grey Ware and Red Ware were collected from the excavation. The Northern Black Polished Ware shrads are of globular bowls with thin walls, indicating high quality production.

Some pieces of pottery seeming to be of prehistoric tradition were also found during the excavation. These are of cord-basket-impressed ware, which are the early deposit of Gotihawa.

The other finds:

Until now, about two hundred objects have been found in the excavation. The ancient materials, namely, necklace beads and pottery discs have been recognized. In addition, a few fragments of worked stones and bones have been discovered. The beads are of terra-cotta or semiprecious stones. The former are mostly in the shape of *ghatas*. They are documented from the early historic period on all over the Ganges Valley. These specimens may go back to the post-Mauryan period (which, at present, is not well documented at Gotihawa).

Only three semiprecious beads, of different shapes, were found. One is a dagger-shaped pendent in cornelian, with a bore hollowed out on top. Second is an elongated barrel-shaped bead in quartz, triangular in section, which also bears comparison with Mauryan and post-Mauryan objects. It was found in an early layer preceding the construction of the stupa. The third bead from the site is made of agate. It is a barrel-shaped bead, round in section, decorated with four incised white parallel lines associated with Northern Black Polished Ware.

Pottery discs are rounded and smoothed fragments obtained from the bases or walls of broken pots. Specimens of such discs obtained from Red Ware, Impressed Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware are documented at Gotihawa. They are interpreted as game pieces, spindle-whorls and also wheels for toy carts, but the most likely interpretation is that they are counters, that is, objects meant to help keep on record operations of an economic type in pre-literate and/or multi-linguistic social contexts.

Two more objects are worth mentioning. The fragment of an antimony rod is interesting because it has been found inside the early stupa, and therefore dates back to the Mauryan period or earlier. A lamp of red-slipped ware found on the *pradakshinapatha* (circumbulatory path) is the only cult object that – as far as we can say – has reached us. It can be dated to the late- or post-Kushana period (Verardi, 7-23: 2002)

A large number terra-cotta human and animal figurines, toy-wheels, beads and bangles, stone objects (beads, muller and querns) and metal objects (copper, iron and glass) were the important findings from the excavation.

Conclusion:

Prof. Verardi in his *A Preliminary Report* on the *Excavations at Gotihawa and a Territorial Survey in Kapilavastu District of Nepal* summarizes the conclusions drawn from the excavation and future plans for the site:

Significant results have already been reached for establishing the chronology of Gotihawa. It can be stated that the pillar and the stupa are contemporary, and that both go back to the mid-third century B.C. (Pl. 4) The evidence from the pottery assemblages and the building materials may suggest and earlier date for the stupa, but more evidence would be necessary to support this view. Also, the relative chronology of the monument and the date of its final abandonment seem to have been clarified. The restoration of the stupa probably goes back to the first-to-second century A.D., and it was in the third century that the sacred area was abandoned.

The date of the pre-stupa settlement is more difficult to assess. Were we to rely exclusively on the C^{14} dating, we would be obliged to conclude that its beginnings go back to the eighth century B.C. and that it came to an end a couple of centuries later. This could not be inconsistent, per se, with the fact that the stupa was built only in the third century B.C., since the growth of the deposit may have been a very slow one before the Buddhists settled in the area. However, the presence of Northern Black Polished Ware in layers, which precede the settlement, suggests that more conservative estimates are called for. Even if we were to accept the earliest estimates on the first appearance of Northern Black Polished Ware, we could not date the pre-settlement deposit to such an early period as that indicated by the C^{14} dating. As satated above, we cannot wait for a larger set of C^{14} datings, limiting ourselves to note, for the time being, that assigning the beginning of Northern Black Polished Ware production to the mid-sixth century B.C. is probably misleading, at least in this part of the Ganges valley.

A question that we have not been able to tackle up to now is the chronology of the upper part of the deposit. Very little is known about the late ancient and medieval sequences in this part of the subcontinent, and even the most obvious indicators, such as the ceramics, have not been properly studied. We hope to collect some evidence relating to this matter in the near future (Verardi 32: 2002).

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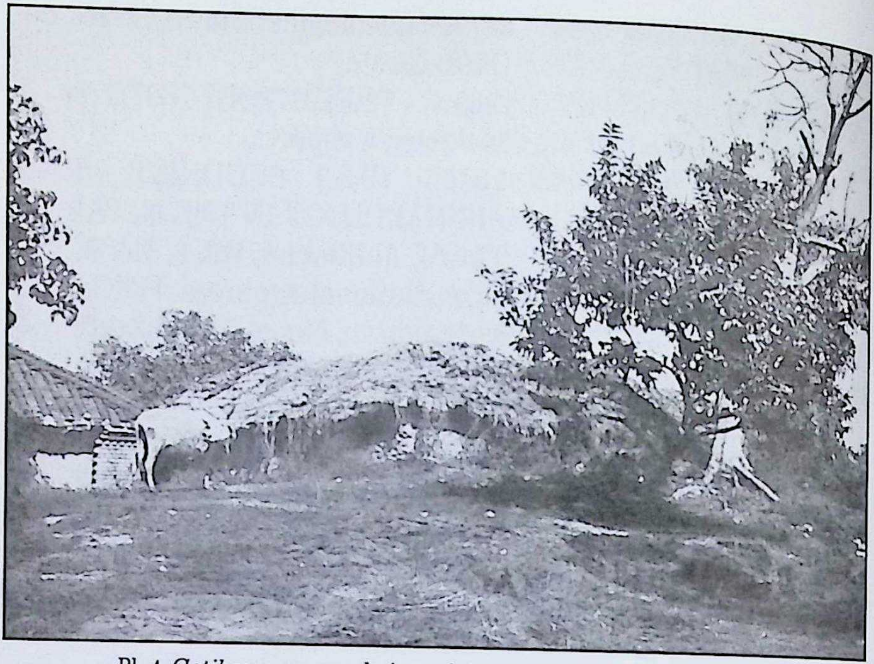
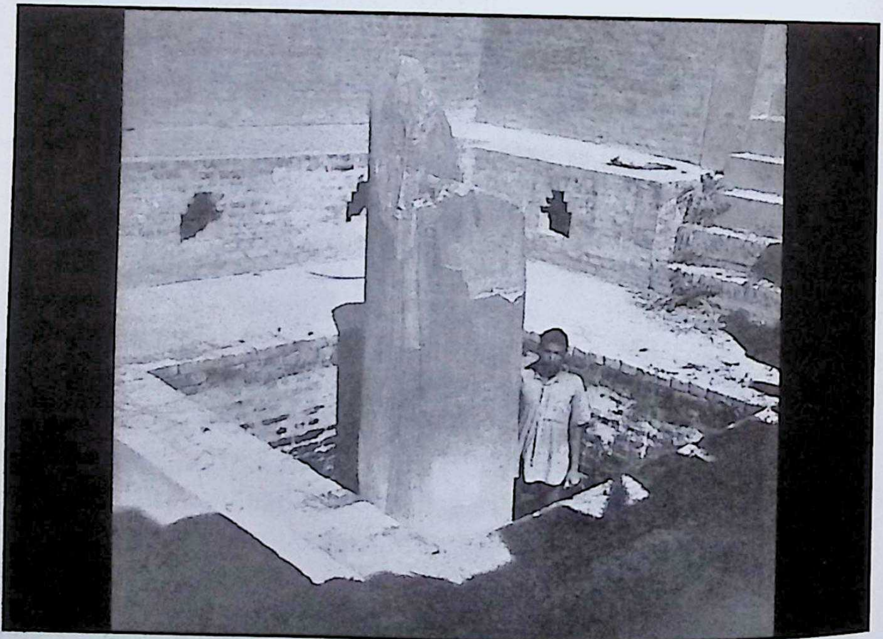
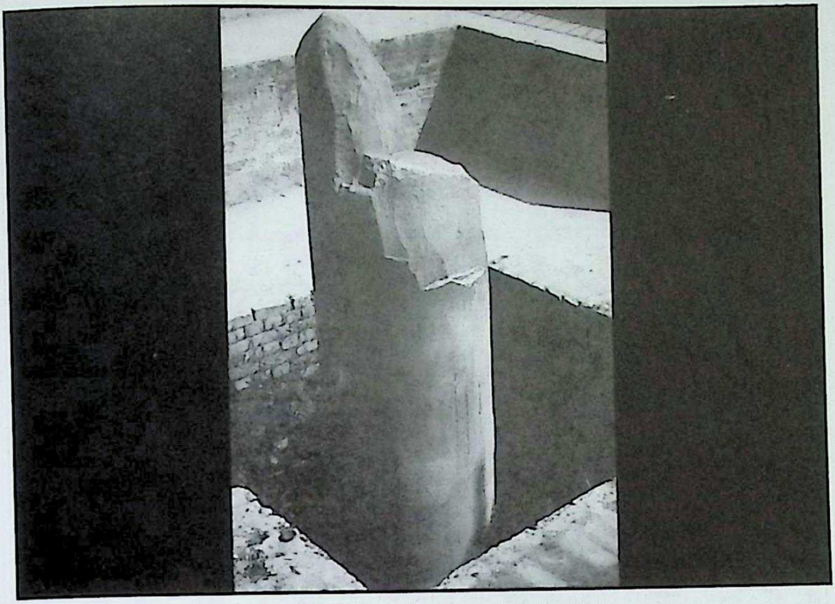


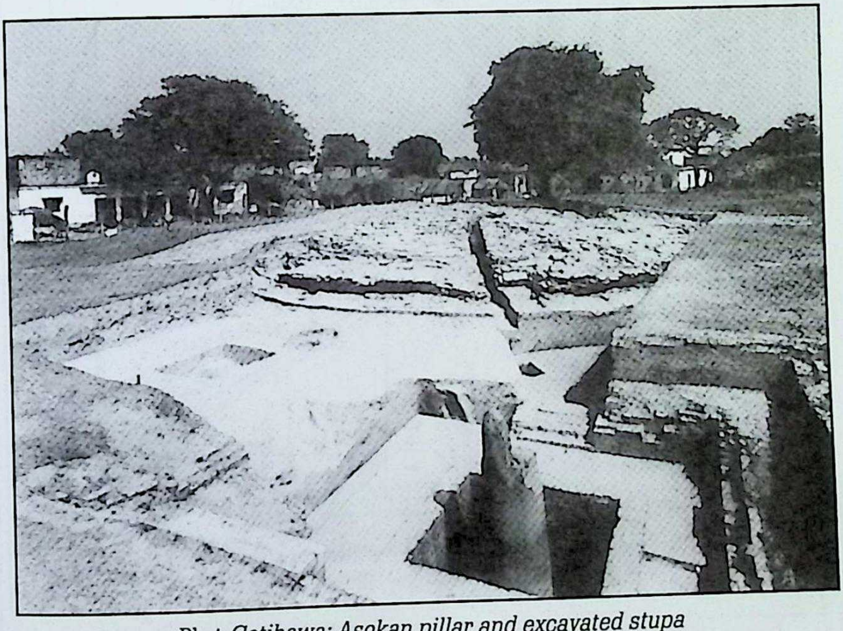
Pl. 1 *Gotihawa: general view of the mound before excavation*



Pl. 2 *Gotihawa: broken Asoka pillar-1962*

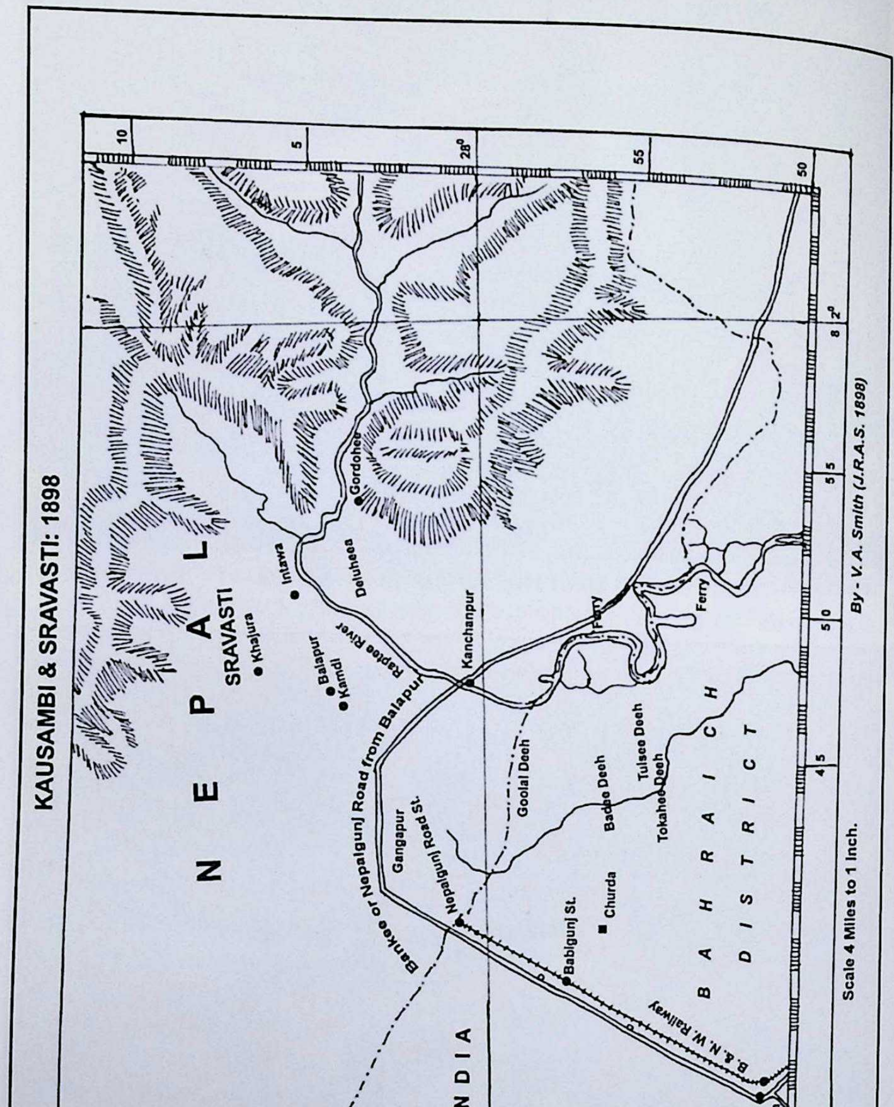


Pl. 3 *Gotihawa: Asokan pillar in 1996*



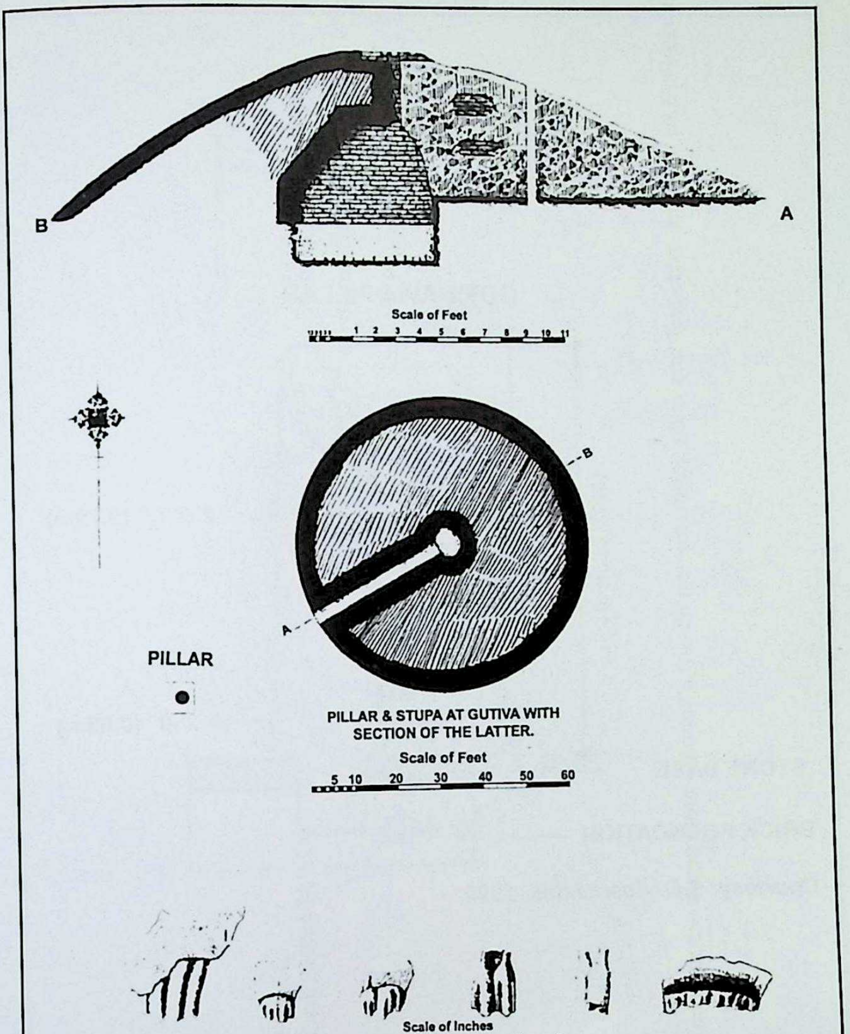
Pl. 4 *Gotihawa: Asokan pillar and excavated stupa*

Skt. 1


KAUSAMBI & SRAVASTI: 1898
N E P A L
SRAVASTI
Khajura
Intawa
Balapur
Kamdi
Deluhea
Gordohea
Raptee River
Kanchanpur
Bankee or Nepalgunj Road from Balapur
Gangapur
Nepalgunj Road St.
Goolal Deeh
Badhe Deeh
Tulsee Deeh
Tokahee Deeh
Churda
Babigunj St.
INDIA
Ferry
Ferry
B A H R A I C H
D I S T R I C T
B. & N. W. Railway
Nanpara
Scale 4 Miles to 1 Inch.
By - V.A. Smith (J.R.A.S. 1898)
10
5
28°
55
50
82°
55
50
45

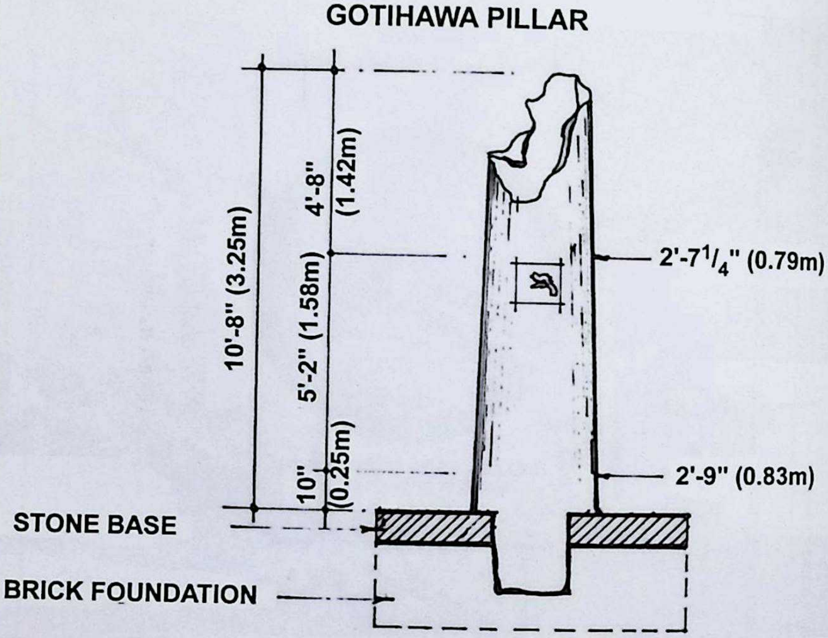
Kausambi and Sravasti 1898

Skt. 2


B
A
Scale of Feet
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
B
A
PILLAR
PILLAR & STUPA AT GUTIVA WITH SECTION OF THE LATTER.
Scale of Feet
5 10 20 30 40 50 60
Scale of Inches
1 2 3 4 5
BONES (TEETH) FOUND IN THE STUPA.
Sohan Lall, Draftsman.
P.C. Mookherji, Archaeologist.

Gotihawa, Major Waddell's excavation 1898

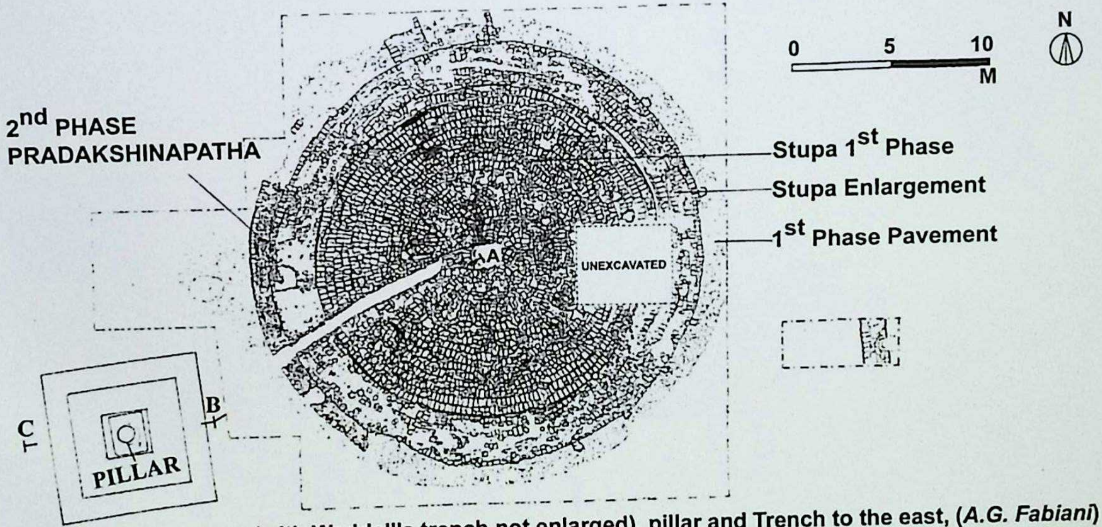
Skt. 3


GOTIHAWA PILLAR
10'-8" (3.25m)
4'-8" (1.42m)
5'-2" (1.58m)
10" (0.25m)
2'-7 1/4" (0.79m)
2'-9" (0.83m)
STONE BASE
BRICK FOUNDATION

Courtesy: S.D. Associates, 1995

Gotihawa, Asoka pillar measurement

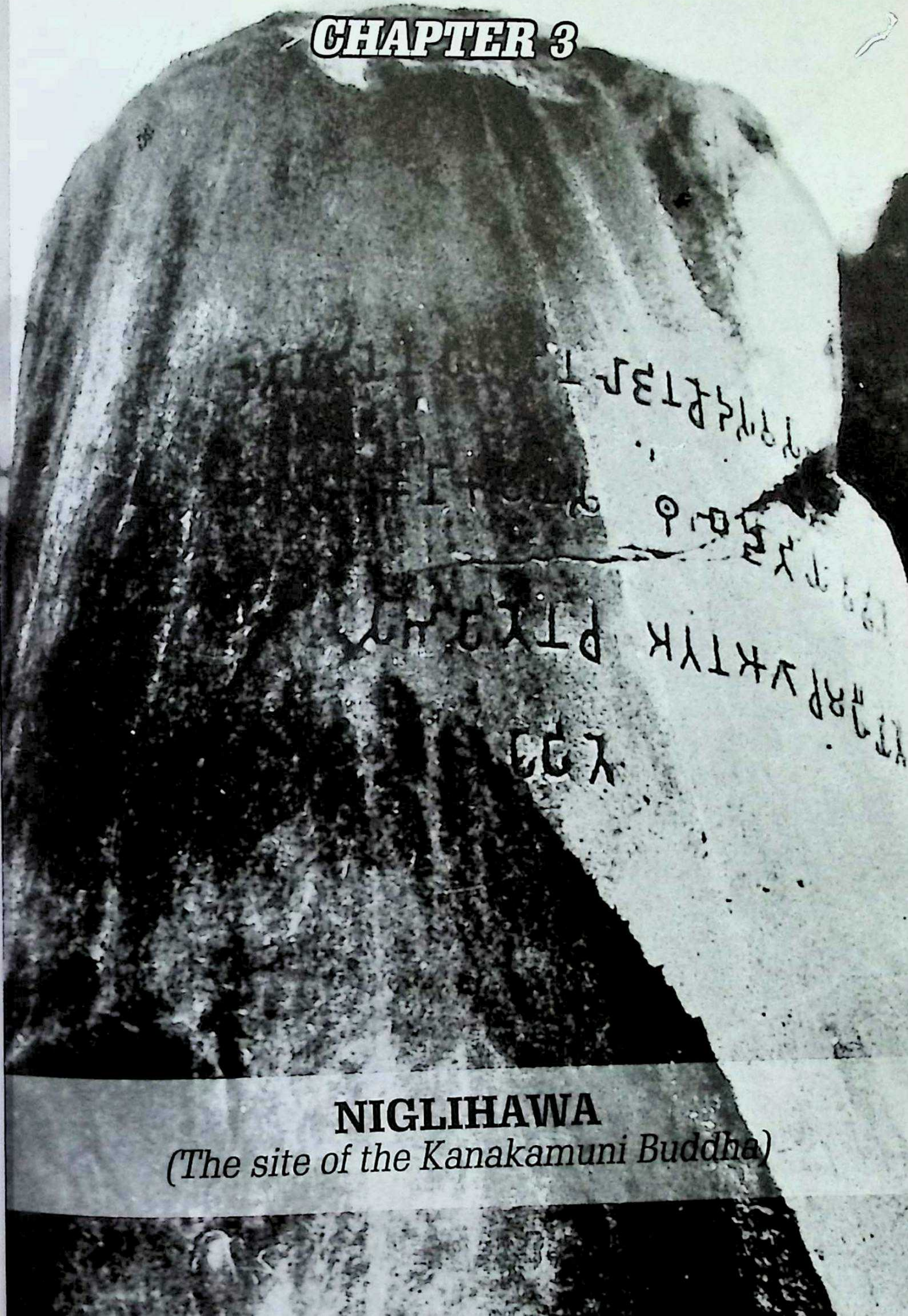
Skt. 4


N
0
5
10
M
2nd PHASE PRADAKSHINAPATHA
Stupa 1st Phase
Stupa Enlargement
1st Phase Pavement
UNEXCAVATED
A
B
C
PILLAR

A plan with the stupa (with Waddell's trench not enlarged), pillar and Trench to the east, (*A.G. Fabiani*)

Gotihawa, Asoka pillar and stupa

CHAPTER 3



NIGLIHAWA

(The site of the Kanakamuni Buddha)

Location:

Niglihawa or Nigali Sagar (lat. 27°35′40″ N; long. 83°6′E) is situated nearly 32 kilometres north-west of Lumbini along all-weather roads. It is about 8 kilometres north-east of Taulihawa, the district headquarters of Kapilavastu district of western Nepal. It lies in ward 9 of Niglihawa Village Development Committee. The easiest way to reach the site is by the Taulihawa-Jitpur road via Bhawani Bhikshu Chowk, and from there it is 7 kilometres towards the north-east along a blacktopped road. Another route to reach this site is via Sagrahawa, (the site of the massacre of the Sakyas), and from there it is about one half kilometres east. It is 400 metres north of Thumwa, a small modern village and the site of another archaeological site.

Importance of the site:

a. Archaeological

Niglihawa is a very important archaeological site in this region. It features a large manmade pool, which is commonly known as Nigali sagar. Close to the pool lie two pieces of a broken Asokan pillar. The lower part of the pillar is emerging in a slanted position from the ground. The upper part formerly lay at the edge of the pool half sank in the water. In 1996 the Lumbini Development Trust transferred it to near the lower part. Both pieces have been given shelter to protect them from the weather and human or animal interference.

b. Religious

This site is regarded as a very important religious place for Buddhists and research scholars of the entire world. It is believed that the Kanakamuni Buddha, one of the earlier Buddhas before Sakyamuni Buddha was born, enlightened and met his father in this place.

History of Kanakmuni Buddha:

G.P. Malalasekera (1983), a renowned Buddhist scholar from Srilanka, relates the history of Konagamana (Kanakamuni) Buddha as follows:

The twenty-third in the list of the twenty four Buddhas and the second Buddha to be born in the Bhadda-kappa. He was born in the Subhagavati Park in Sobhavati, the capital of King Sobha, his father being the Brahmin Yajyadatta and his mother Uttara. He lived in the household for three thousand years, in three palaces, Tusita, Santusita and Santuttha; his chief wife was Rucigatta and their son was Satthavaha. Konagamana left the world on an elephant and practiced austerities only for six months, at the end of which time the daughter of the Brahmin Aggisoma was given milk-rice and grass for his seat by the yavapalaka Tinduka. His bodhi was an *Udumbara* tree. His first sermon was preached in the Migadaya near Sudassana-nagar, at the foot of a *Maha-sala* tree. He held only one assembly of his disciples, who numbered thirty thousand. His body was thirty cubits in height. He died in the Pabbatarama at the age of thirty thousand. His relics were scattered. His chief disciples were Bhiyya and Uttara among monks and Samudda and Uttara among nuns, his constant attendant being Sotthiya. His chief patrons were Ugga and Somadeva among laymen, and Sivala and Sama among laywomen. The Bodhisattva was a Khattiya named Pabbata of Mithila. He held an alms giving, heard the Buddha preach and joined the Order. The banker Ugga built for the Buddha Sangharama half a league in extent.

On the day of the Buddha's birth, a shower of gold fell all over Jambudipa; hence he was called Kanakagamana, Konagamana being a corrupt form of that word.

According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Konagamana visited their Island (then known as Varadipa), with thirty thousand disciples, accepted the Mahanoma garden at Vaddhamana, given by King Samiddha, and preached the doctrine. At the conclusion of his sermon, thirty thousand people realised the Truth. At the Buddha's wish, the nun Kantaka nanda (Kanakadutta) brought to Ceylon a branch of the Bodhi-Tree. The Buddha also preached at the Ratanamala, the Sudassanamala and the Nagamalaka and gave the girdle for the people's worship. He left Mahasumba and Kantakananda to look after the new converts.

In Konagamana's time, Mount Vepulla was known as Vankaka, and the people living on the mountain were called Rohitassa, their term of life being thirty thousand years. Konagamana held the *Uposatha* once a year.

In the Northern books Konagamana is called Kanakamuni, Konakamuni and Kanakaparvata. A Thupa, erected on the spot where Konakamuni was born, is thought to have existed down to the time of Asoka, who rebuilt it to double its original size and worshipped it in his twentieth year (Malalasekera, 681-682: 1983).

According to the Ven. Rahula Sankrityayana and the Ven. Jagadish Kasyapa, Konagamana Buddha belonged to the Kasyapa g*otra* (clan). He was born under the g*ular* or d*umri* (*Ficus glomerata)* tree. Both Venerables acknowledged the existence of Kanakamuni Buddha based on the Deegha Nikaya's *Mahapadana Sutta* (Sankrityayana and Kasyapa, 96-97: 1979).

Location of Kanakamuni's native place:

Buddhist literary sources including the Chinese travellers' accounts describe the location of Kanakamuni's enlightenment, and the place where he met his father. The Kanakamuni Buddha was the Pratyeka Buddha, according to Humphreys (1976), "Pratyeka Buddha is the solitary sage of Indian life whose ideal was incompatible with that of the Bodhisattva, in that he "walked alone" and having attained his enlightenment, passed into Nirvana, indifferent to the woes of men" (Humphreys, 152: 1976), and "his nirvana place was a *Tirtha* (holy place). This shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C." (Banerjee, 74: 1980).

Naming of the place:

According to Dr. Fuhrer the pillar is known far and wide to the people of the Tarai under the name of "Bhimsena-ki-nigali", or "smoking pipe of Bhimsena" (Fuhrer, 23: 1972).

Mukherji cites a different name, Lori-ki-nigali or "smoking pipe of Lori" nigalo in Nepali is a kind of small bamboo used for stick and very easily available in the Tarai of Nepal. Possibly nigali is derived from nigalo. And hawa in the local dialect denotes a small village, settlement or hamlet. Thus, the name Nigalihawa possibly means an area where nigali bamboo grows. Some scholars suggest that nigli is Sanskrit for blue; the water of the pool is blue (nigli), and there is a village (hawa) thus, the place is known as Niglihawa.

Early visitors:

a. Asoka

The conversion of Emperor Asoka after the massacre and bloodshed in the devastating battle of Kalinga (present-day, Orissa state in India) was a milestone in the history of Buddhism. The patronage of a great and powerful emperor provided a strong stimulus to the propagation of Buddhism. Among many other things, Emperor Asoka, in exhibiting his intense devotion to the Buddhist faith, instituted the *Dharma yatra* (state pilgrimage) to replace the *vihara yatra* (pleasure tour). Evidence of such pilgrimages can still be seen in the inscriptions on the pillars in Lumbini and Niglihawa.

Asoka is credited with the construction of a large number of stupas which enshrine relics of the Buddha or Buddhist saints all over Northern India; and with them were erected monasteries (viharas) for the monks (Longhust, 17: 1979).

His pious activities also led to the formation of schools for the arts, their main concern being in propagating and popularizing Buddhism through art. The rulers who succeeded him followed his noble examples. In fact, the history of Buddhism from the days of Asoka on is intimately linked with that of Buddhist art.

Dr. Ananda W.P. Guruge, a world-renowned Buddhist scholar from Sri Lanka has state: "According to the Northern Buddhist sources, in the year 269 B.C. Asoka ascended the throne, consolidating his sole authority over Maurya Empire. After fourteen years of consecration, he celebrated first of five yearly festivals (*Pancavarsika*) involving another pilgrimage. He ordered to repair and rebuild the stupa in honor of the Buddha Konagamana, making it double its original size" (Guruge, 21-22: 1997).

b. Inscription on the Niglihawa pillar

"In his Rock edict VIII, Asoka states that those ten years after his coronation, he visited 'Sambodhi'; i.e., the Bodhi tree at Bodh-gaya. He was already a Buddhist but for the first year not a zealous one. After that period, he espoused the cause of the faith in earnest. Whether he joined the '*Sangha*' at Bodh-gaya, as asserted by some scholars, is, however, not clear. In any case, he undertook further pilgrimages. In the fourteenth year after his coronation, he enlarged the stupa, enshrining the relics of the Buddha Kanakamuni to double its size. Six years later he visited the spot in person, offered worship at the place and erected a stone pillar there. It was possibly the part of a larger pilgrimage that the king undertook in the twentieth year of his reign" (Chattopadhyaya, 130: 1977).

c. The text of the inscription on the Niglihawa pillar

The inscription on the Niglihawa pillar, in the Brahmi script and Pali language, reads as follows:

Devanam piyena piyadasin lajina- chodasavasa bhisitena Budhasa Konakamanasa thube- dutyam vadhite
Visativa sabhisitena - cha atana - agacha - mahiyite silathabe - cha usa papite (ii) (Pl. 1)

Dr. Fuhrer has translated this with the restored letters shown within parenthesis as follows:

King Piyadasi, beloved of gods, having been anointed fourteen years, increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Konakamana and having been anointed [twenty years] he came himself and worshipped [and] he caused [this stone pillar to be erected].

V. Smith has interpreted the same as follows:
His Majesty King Priyadarsina in the 14th year of his reign enlarged for the second time the stupa of the Buddha Kanakamuni and in the 20th year of his reign, having come in person, did reverence and set up a stone pillar (Pradhan, 63: 1979).

E.J. Thomas offers the following translation:
King Priyadarshi, after he had been consecrated King for fourteen years, increased the stupa of Buddha Kanakamuni to the double and having been consecrated twenty years came himself and worshipped (Pradhan, 63: 1979).

According to Georg Buhler (1898-99):
Konakamana was "increased" or enlarged for the second time in Asoka's fifteenth year. It would appear that the monument had been erected before the beginning of the King's reign, or before B.C. 269. Konakamana belongs to the long series of purely mythical predecessors of the historical founder of Buddhism. The mythology of Buddhism must not only have been developed, but the myths must have been fixed locally, before it could accrue to the faithful to build stupas in honor of their heroes. It seems difficult to believe that all those stages of the development could have been accomplished in a short time (Buhler, 5: 1898).

Chinese travellers at Kanakamuni's place:

a. Fa-hsien
Fa-hsien gives a brief description to the place of the Kanakamuni Buddha:
Going north from this place (Na-pi-ka, possibly the same as Gotihawa) less than one *yojana,* we arrived at a town where

Kanakamuni Buddha was born, there are towers also erected here over similar places at the last (Beal, XLIX: 1983).

Thomas Watters (1972) summarizes the visit of Fa-hsien to the Kanakamuni's place in the following:
Fa-hsien places the old city of Krakuchanda (called by him Ku-Lu-Chin Buddha) twelve *yojanas* (about 86 miles) to the south east of Sravasti, and he tells us the city had at this time topes and viharas (that is commemorative). He gives the name of the city as Na-Pi-Ka, which perhaps is Nabhika, the name of the town in the far north. Less than a *yojana* to the north of Krakuchhanda Buddha's city, Fa-hsien relates, was the city of Ku-na-han (Kanakmuni, in the Pali texts Konagamana) Buddha's, also with topes. This latter city was according to Fa-hsien less than a *yojana* to the west of Kapilavastu.

The city of Kanakamuni is called *Chuang-yen* 'adorned', a translation of Subhavati, and *Ching-ching* or 'purity' and *Cha-mo-yue-ti* or 'Kshamavati' and *Ku-na* or *Kona.* The tope over the relics of Krakuchhanda Buddha is represented as having been built by a king contemporarily with that Buddha and named Asoka, or in one book, Subha.

On the pillar recently discovered in the Nepalese Terai, near Niglihawa, is an inscription in which King Asoka records that he had twice enlarged the tope of Kanakamuni and worshipped there himself. This information is very interesting, but it does not tell us of the great events in the Buddha's career the tope commemorated. Yet some Indian archaeologists do not hesitate to call it the Nirvana tope of Kanakamuni Buddha. Fa-hsien, who places the two old cities to the west of the capital, does not mention the presence of Asoka pillars, unlike Yuan Chwang, who places the two old cities eastward of the capital. The latter represents the inscriptions on the pillars as giving particulars of the decease of the two Buddhas, but the inscription on the Niglihawa pillar does not bear this out (Watters, 6-7: 1973).

b. Yuan Chwang

Yuan Chwang's description of Kanakamuni's place

To the north-east of the town of Krakuchanda Buddha going 30 *li*, we came to an old capital (or a great city) in which there is a stupa. This is to commemorate the spot where, in the Bhadra-kalpa when men lived to the age of 40,000 years, Kanakamuni Buddha was born.

To the north-west of the city, not far, is a stupa; it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

Further north there is a stupa containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his Nirvana; this was built by Asoka Raja" (Beal, 19: 1983).

Fuhrer in the Nepalese Tarai in 1897:

Dr. Fuhrer was commissioned on the 17th of December 1897 to assist and advise the government of Nepal in the supervision of excavations. Fuhrer published his report in 1896 and repeated his descriptions at greater length in 1897. In his report he notes:

The canonical books of the Southern and Northern Buddhists agreed that Konagamana Buddha or Kanakamuni was born in the *Mahabhadrakalpa* at Sobhavati or Subhavati in the house of the Brahmin Yajnadatta. He is called Kanakamuni, because at the time of his birth a shower of gold (*Kanaka*) is said to have fallen.

The brick circumvallation of the ancient city Sobhavati is still distinctly traceable near the modern hamlets of Tilaura and Gobari about 6$^1/_2$ miles north-east of Lori-ki-Kudan and Gotiva, near which place stands Krakucchandas Nirvana stupa. The two stupas, the one inside the city and the other not far to the north-east of it, are now mere low mounds of ruins, whilst the great Nirvana stupa of Konagamana or Konakamana is, despite its great age, still fairly well preserved, and rears its imposing pile close to Asoka's Edict Pillar, just one mile and a half due north-east of Tilaura-kot and about one mile south of the village of Niglihawa. The lower inscribed portion of this pillar which on excavation was found to measure 10 feet 6 inches in depth and its base 8 feet 2 inches in circumference, is still fixed *in situ*, resting on a square masonry foundation, 7 feet by 7 foot by 1 feet and being embedded in the western embankment of the lake. A short distance to the north-east, close to the brink of the water, lies the upper half of Asoka's Edict Pillar, measuring 14 feet 9 inches in length and 2 feet in diameter at its uppermost and 2 feet 6 inches at its lower end. (Pls. 2 & 3) The lion capital is wanting, and lies unquestionably buried amongst the *debris* surrounding the lake, or possibly may rest at the bottom of the lake's water. From evidence still observable, it seems almost certain that this handsome column of polished sandstone was destroyed through the excessive heat of a raging forest fire so common in the Tarai, between the seventh century, the date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, and the tenth century, to which period belongs the oldest inscription incised in beautiful lapidary characters of that time on about the middle of the fallen half. Just below it is engraved a pilgrim's record, dating from the later half of the twelfth century A.D. which reads as follows:

"Sri-Tapumalla [h] nityan jayatu 1234". Hail! May Tapumalla live long! Samvat 1234 (or A.D. 1177-78). These inscriptions, being thus found about 18 feet above the original base of the pillar, had the column still intact in its original height, which was not about 20 feet, as stated by Hiuen Tsiang but about 28 feet.

The new edict of Asoka is incised in four beautifully engraved lines on the lower half of the mutilated lion pillar, just 10 feet 6 inches above its base, and has suffered by its fracture a great deal on the left side in losing the first five letters of the third as well as the first seven of the fourth line; but as fortunately a part of the wording of the Rummin-dei Pillar agrees closely with that of the

Nigliva Pillar, it makes the restoration of the lost portions easy and absolutely certain. The edict runs as follows:

"King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods; having been anointed fourteen years, increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Konakamana; and having been anointed [*twenty years*], he came himself and worshipped; [*and*] he caused [*this stone pillar to be erected.*]"

The contents of this inscription do not agree with Hiuen Tsiang's statement "on this (pillar) is inscribed a record of the events connected with (Kanakamuni's) nirvana." As Hiuen Tsiang was no epigraphist, his notices about the contents of inscriptions mentioned by him are invariably incorrect. This edict is probably the earliest archaeological confirmation we have of the actual preservation, in early Buddhist times, of the memory of Konagamana. Hofrat Dr. Buhler has pointed out the value of this edict for the early history of Buddhism in a preliminary notice of the document. The edict also proves that Professor Kern was right when he declared that the portion of the Buddhist doctrine in the *Deegha Nikaya* and *Majjhima Nikaya* referring to previous Buddhas was settled in the third century B.C. Perhaps it teaches us even a little more. First the statement of Asoka-Piyadasi that "he increased" or enlarged the stupa *for the second time* in the fifteenth year after his coronation as Emperor, or in the nineteenth of his reign, means that he twice restored it, adding to its size. Hence the monument must have been erected before the beginning of the king's reign, or before B.C. 259, and it must have enjoyed considerable fame and sanctity, as is also apparent from the fact that Asoka in his twenty-fifth year personally visited and worshipped it. The dogma of the Buddhas anterior to Gotama Buddha must not only have been developed, but must also have been fixed locally, before it could occur to "Faithful" to build or renew stupas in honour of these Buddhas. It seems difficult to believe that all these stages of development of the Buddhist doctrine could have been accomplished in a very short time. Secondly, according to the *Buddhavamsa,* one of the latest books included in the Canon of the *Pitakas,* Buddha Konagamana reached *nirvana,* i.e. died, in the Pabbata Arama, that is, in the "Mountain *Plaisance* or Monastery", which suggested to Hofrat Dr. Buhler the conjecture that we have to look near the site of his Nirvana-stupa for the place of his death. The Pabbata Arama lays just thirteen miles north-east of Nigali-Sagar on the lower slopes of the Tarai hills, overtopped by the snowclad peaks of Dhavalagiri and Muktinath, and its deserted site is now known as Saina-Maina. Vast ruins of fallen monasteries and the remains of three immense walls, built of huge ancient bricks, are hidden away in dense shrubby jungle.

The Nigali sagar is an expansive sheet of water, being an oblong measuring about 940 feet by 440 feet. A short distance from the western embankment of the lake, on which the mutilated portion of the edict pillar stands, are vast brick ruins stretching far away in the direction of the southern gate of Kapilavastu. Amongst the heaps of ruins, the Nirvana-stupa of Konagamana is clearly discernible, the base of its hemispherical dome being about 101 feet in diameter, and its present height still about thirty feet. The dome seems to have been constructed of solid brick to a depth of about 20 feet, whilst the interior is filled up with earth packing. This dome rests on a great circular mass, 109 feet in diameter, built in the shape of a huge brick drum, about 6 feet high, cased with solid bricks a very great size, 16 inches by 11 by 3, thus leaving a procession-path round the exterior of about eight feet in breadth. About ten feet beyond the great circular base all round, was apparently a stone railing with gateways, the positions of which can still be traced. It is thus abundantly evident that the corporal relics of Konagamana, collected from his funeral pyre, were carefully and securely interred in this stupa, and that his Nirvana stupa is undoubtedly one of the oldest Buddhist monuments still existing in India. On all sides around this interesting monument, are ruined monasteries fallen column and broken sculptures" (Fuhrer, 22-25: 1972).

Harry Falk describes the a long history and discovery of the Niglihawa pillar in his monograph *Discovery of Lumbini:* In 1893 a Nepalese officer on a hunting expedition found an Asokan pillar near Nigliva on the bank of Nigali Sagar. It was not only mishap that in 1893, Major Jaskaran Singh announced in the newspaper to have seen an Asokan pillar with an inscription in the Nepalese Tarai. In 1895 Dr. Fuhrer was deputed to take estampages. Dr. Fuhrer could not discover the said Asokan pillar but found a new pillar at Niglihawa... Even before the inscription could be read and published, the military doctor Waddell, who was serving in Calcutta and who had long been making efforts to find the Buddha's birthplace, suspected that some reference to the Buddhist holy site might be expected in it. He wrote to the person in change, Dr. Fuhrer, but received no reply.

Soon afterwards Buhler, in Vienna, acquired a report and rubbing from Fuhrer. From 1895 on, Buhler made the text and the circumstances of the find known to others in his field. From the beginning Buhler accurately called Fuhrer not the discoverer of the pillar but merely someone who had managed "to look up the Asoka pillar." Fuhrer's report to Buhler told of stupa fragments near the pillar; it also mentioned, however, the missing characters in the last line of the inscription. Buhler repeated Fuhrer's statements that these characters were hidden under ground level and that the Nepalese had kept him from excavating. Now, there is not the slightest trace of a stupa at Nigali Sagar, nor were the final characters hidden underground, having long before been broken off with a piece of the pillar. All told, this can only mean that Fuhrer himself never saw the pillar there before his reports on Niglihawa to Buhler. Somebody else most have obtained the rubbing at his bidding.

Waddell, for this part, only learned from the press what is in fact written on the pillar, namely that King Asoka visited the stupa of the Buddha Konagamana in the twentieth year of his reign. The doctor immediately made a connection between the pillar and the reports of the Chinese pilgrims, who were shown the birthplace of this same Buddha some seven kilometers southeast of Kapilavastu. From Hsuan Tsang one knew that an Asokan pillar could be expected to be found there. Waddell equated the site of the newly found pillar with the birthplace of Konagamana and wrote of this to Fuhrer. But again he received no reply.

Fuhrer had published his report in 1895, and in it, as in his letters to Buhler, had listed an entire complex of ruins at Nigali Sagar. He repeated his descriptions at greater length in 1897. He, too, on the basis of the records of the Chinese, associated the inscription on the pillar with the stupa of the Buddha Konagamana. He claimed to have found this stupa right next to the pillar and described it in great detail. In 1901 Vincent Smith learned why no one besides Fuhrer had been able to find the least bit of evidence for the stupa: Fuhrer had simply borrowed the description of his fictive stupa, in some parts word for word, from Cunningham's work dealing with the Bhilsa Topes.

Nevertheless, the pillar that sparked Fuhrer's report did exist. From this report Waddell surmised that the archaeologist had at no time realized the value of the pillar for localizing Kapilavastu. In the spring of 1896 Waddell attempted by means of an article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* to interest others in the field to keep on looking. This article was at first, however, not even accepted for print. Therefore, he rewrote it for a newspaper readership and saw it appear in June in *The Englishman* in Calcutta. The Asiatic Society thereupon backed down and printed his original memorandun in the fall of the same year.

Waddell now took up the search for the birthplace of the Buddha on his own. He requested the government in Calcutta to approach the Nepalese for permission to enter their country. All sides were forthcoming. In August of 1896 the state government of Bengal promised him to bear the cost of an expedition, and the Nepalese were willing to let him in the country. Still, the state government had to give their final consent and find a replacement for the doctor for the planned six weeks. The consent was secured, but not the replacement. And thus, on 5 February 1897, Waddell was informed that Archaeological Surveyor Dr. Fuhrer would be leading the expedition in the place of him (Falk, 9-12: 1998).

Niglihawa in 1899:

After Fuhrer, Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji examined this site in 1899. Mukherji measured the site from Sagrahawa (the massacred site of the Sakyas) and records:

Nigali is a village about a mile and half east of Sagarwa (Sagrahawa) and on the east of the local forest. About a mile south of the village is a large tank extending east to west, which is known as Nigali Sagar from the two portions of a Priyadarsi pillar, called 'Lori-ki-Nigali', or smoking pipe of Lori, which are in the western embankment. They appear to have subsequently been restored at the time of the re-excavation of the tank. The other tanks in the neighborhood show their banks almost flush with the surrounding ground level.

The Nigali Sagar is now shallow. The upper piece of the pillar which lies fallen inside the embankment and just above the water in February, is about 14'-9½" long, the upper girth being 6'-6" and the middle is 6'-10¼"; and the diameters at the top and bottom are, respectively, 2' and 2¼'. There are three birds of a very rude pattern done is some mediaeval times, when the pillar was fallen. Between 8'-6" and 9'-7" below the top are two short inscriptions in four lines, the upper two being the Tibetan creed "Om mani padme hum" translated "O! The jewel is in the lotus" and the lower "Sri Tapu Malla Jayastu-Sambat–1234" (May Tapu Malla be victorious, A.D. 1177-78).

The top of the pillar has a diameter of 2', above which a smaller drum rises 2½". In the center of this is a hole, 4" in diameter, and 1'-4" in depth in which was fitted the copper mortice of the capital, that is now missing. The lower portion of the pillar is about 10′, on the top of the western embankment. Its upper diameter is 2′-4″ and the girth, at 2′-4″ below top, is 7′-5½″. The inscription, in four lines, which occupies 1′-4″, below the top, records an ancient *Pali* text which is the following:

"King Priyadarsi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed 14 years, increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Kanakamuni, and having been anointed (20 years), he came himself and worshipped (and) he caused (this stone pillar to be erected)".

Some of the letters are gone with the lower faces, leaving only a length of 7′-7½″ to the bottom, now broken off (Mukherji, 30: 1960).

Additionally, Mukherji observes that the pillar is not *in situ,* for Dr. Fuhrer was mistaken in saying so.

"When Major Waddell excavated below, the broken bottom was exposed, where no foundation or basement was discovered. Nor could I find the stupa of Konagamana, which, according to the Doctor's statement, was at a short distance from the western embankment, where he located "vast brick ruins stretching far away in the direction of the southern gate of Kapilavastu." Standing on the summit of the western embankment, I could see for a mile or two wests to and beyond Ramapur, Ahirauli and Srinagara; and I have walked over the tract in different directions; but nowhere could I see such an enormous pile, nor was I informed of it. In fact, the alleged stupa is not in existence" (Mukherji, 30: 1969).

Vincent Smith's view on Niglihawa:

Smith has a different opinion about the situation of the pillar and stupa at Nigali Sagar. As noted above, he charged Dr. Fuhrer with shortcoming in his work on the stupas:

A single drawing, plan or photograph did not support this elaborate description. Every word of it is false. The Government of India, 1897 had withdrawn the report of Fuhrer's monograph on *Buddha Sakyamuni's Birthplace in the Nepalese Tarai*, from circulation.

Equally imaginative are the details given by Dr. Fuhrer concerning his alleged excavation of the base of the broken Asoka pillar lying at the Nigli Sagar. The pillar lying at this place has been moved about eight or thirteen miles from its original position which was probably either at Sisania or at Palta Devi. It is impossible that Konagamana's stupa should have stood anywhere near Nigliva. The belief that it ought to have been found near that village was so strongly held by Dr. Fuhrer that it induced him to invent the stupa which he could not discover; and to place at the basis of the pillar a foundation of imagination all compact (Smith, 4-5: 1969).

Mrs. Debala Mitra in Niglihawa:

Devala Mitra during short period in 1962 when she was conducting excavations at Kudan and Tilaurakot and explored other parts of the Nepalese Tarai. She has left a short note on the Niglihawa pillar: In March 1895 A. Fuhrer, Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Province and Oudh Circle, was deputed to take estampages of the inscription on the pillar at Nigali Sagar. On this occasion Fuhrer received the news about a second pillar near Bhagawanpur (close to Rummin-dei). The purport of the inscription on the lower fragment of the pillar at Nigali-Sagar created a great sensation among scholars. L.A. Waddell was the first to point out that the pillar with the record of Asoka about the enlargement of the *stupa* of Kanakamuni (which lay within a few kilometers of Kapilavastu according to Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang), would be a sure indicator towards the lost site of Kapilavastu, hitherto reached too far to the south in Gorakhpur and Basti District of India. The Government of India moved the Nepal Government for the permission to explore the area around Nigali-Sagar.

Fuhrer was again sent in 1896 to advise on the excavation of Kanakamuni's *stupa, which*, however, was not attempted, though he gave an elaborate description of the nirvana-stupa of this

Manusi Buddha close to the inscribed pillar, the latter claimed by Fuhrer to be *in situ.*

Fuhrer vaguely traced the natal place of Kanakamuni near the hamlets of Tilaura and Gobari and the site of Kapilavastu between lat. 27⁰ 32′-38″ N. and long. 38⁰3′-10″E. in the middle of a dense *sal* forest over a length of about seven miles from the village of Amauli, Baidauli, Harnampur and Bikuli (North-East) to Sivagarh, Tilaurakot and Ramghat on the Banganga (South-West) and over a breadth of about three to four miles from the villages of Ramapura, Ahirauli and Srinagar on the south to the villages of Jagdishpur and Nagravah on the north. (Mitra, 5-6: 1972).

T.N. Mishra's view on Niglihawa:

T.N. Mishra a still different opinion on the location of the pillar at Nigali-Sagar:

The Kanakamuni Buddha's pillar, a mile on the east of Tilaurakot, also indicates the existence of the site in that very vicinity. The extensive site of Araurakot and the surrounding areas should be thoroughly checked to locate the original place of the pillar. It is to note that both Chinese pilgrims clearly mention that the town of Konakamuni was between six to eight miles on the north of Krakuchhanda's town. The old ruined city of Araurakot, close to the Niglisagar on the east, most probably represents the old township belonging to Konakamuni Buddha (Mishra, 31: 1977).

B.L. Pradhan's opinion on Niglihawa:

B.L. Pradhan writes concerning Niglihawa as follows:

The village of Niglihawa is situated 4 miles north-east of present Taulihawa bazaar in Nepal. Nearby is a large tank locally known as Niglisagar. Near this tank there must have stood an Asoka stone pillar for centuries, though it now lies broken. The tank is said to have derived its present name from the reed-like (Nigala means reed) slender structure of the pillar. Of the broken pieces the upper one about 15 feet long lies on the ground near the edge of the tank. It bears an inscription of the year 1234 (supposed to be

Saka era). This inscription belonged to King Ripu Malla of the Naga dynasty who ruled over one of the two states, which flourished from the 11th to 15th century in the Karnali region, with the present village of Dullu as his capital. The shorter piece, apparently the lower portion of the pillar, can also be seen lying on the ground. It bears an inscription of Emperor Asoka regarding his visit to Kapilavastu. Because of the recovery of this pillar near Niglisagar the village of Niglihawa came to be regarded as the birthplace of Kanakamuni, and presumably for that reason the Emperor visited this spot and raised a pillar in his memory.

In connection with this, Emperor Asoka in memory of Kanakamuni erected a pillar and rebuilt the older stupa. Unfortunately, the capital of the pillar together with the lion atop of which Hiuen Tsiang spoke has disappeared. Even about this pillar V. Smith has remarked that it was no more in its original position. The other inscription on the upper piece referred to above as belonging to King Ripu Malla, contains the words 'Om mani padme hum' and Shree Ripu Malla's chiram jayatu 1234. The year 1234 is the Saka Era corresponding to 1312 A.D. Dhanabajra Bajracharya infers from this that Lumbini and Kapilavastu must have been a part of the Karnali Malla kingdom and that up to the time of King Ripu Malla the region was widely known as the birthplace and home of The Buddha.

In spite of the fact that a pillar has been discovered on the bank of Nigalisagar, some archaeologists point to the Sishania Pandey village as the birthplace of Kanakamuni, while others Niglisagar itself. In fact, though the stupa is not yet traced or the pillar might have been shifted from its original spot, it cannot be denied that the two big pieces of the pillar, one lying on the ground and the other standing out from under the ground, are there. They are most reliably the genuine pointer of the stupa as well as of the town of Kanakamuni and therby to be the final location of Kapilavastu as well (Pradhan, 21: 1975).

S.D. Tuladhar's judgment on Niglihawa:

Swayambhu Dhar Tuladhar provides a detailed measurement and typology of the Niglihawa pillar. He points out that two pieces of the mutilated pillar, one with the edict, have been found on the bank of Nigali Sagar. The one with the edict is standing at a slant and is believed to be about 10′ 6″ long, while the second piece, about 14′ 9″ long, (Pl. 4) lies fallen inside the embankment. After arguing against the hypothesis that the two pieces formed part of the Gotihawa pillar he notes:

> There is also an assumption that the two pieces belong to the same pillar. If that is so there should be a third piece of about 5′-0″ long to go in between the two because there is a difference of ½″ in the diameters. If we reconstruct the pillar its height comes to about 30 feet (the polished part of the Lumbini pillar is about 22 feet high). Considering the height of the edict at 9 feet from the ground level, the total height of the pillar will be about 45 feet along with the capital and the buried part. (Skt. 1)
>
> Unlike Gotihawa pillar, damage to these pieces is intentional and not from natural disaster. When carefully looking at the pillar, it is clear that at each end of the pillar has been cut very systematically. Perhaps it was cut that way so as to use it somewhere else. But on the other hand there are some deep cracks and a large chunk chipped at the top and bottom of the edict. (Skt. 2)
>
> The most puzzling thing is why has the pillar being lying there? Why and when was it brought there and where is its original position? According to the edict it was standing next to a stupa, not a pond. Carefully studying the photo plate V in Dr. Fuhrer's report, it is clear that it has not been very long since that pillar was transferred there. On the left side of the pillar there is a tree, slanted due to the pressure from the pillar. The tree is not that old; it may be about 25 years old, not more. We do not see any substantial deposit around the pillar. So the presence of the top pillar may not be more than 20 years from the time of

its discovery. The original position of the pillar it still unknown (Tuladhar, 60-61: 1995).

New explorations:

In the winters of 1996 and 1997 a Nepalese-Italian joint archaeological team carried out surface explorations in the Kapilavastu district. The main objective of this team was to gather finds, study them, identify archaeological sites and assess their value. The team located at least sixty-six earlier unknown archaeological sites. The main area of exploration was east of the Banganga River, west of the Kothi River, south of the east-west highway and north of the Indian border.

The majority of the archaeological sites are concentrated near inhabited areas. There are at least eight or nine archaeological sites located in and around Niglihawa. There are four prominent mounds full of ancient pottery and brickbats to the north-east of Taulihawa up to the Jitpur road, before it meets the east-west highway. To the south-west of this road there are four archaeological sites, which have been identified. There are nine sites so far identified in and around Niglihawa. They are Thumwa, Semari, Thagi Baba Ki Dadi, Araurakot, Derwa, Gobari, Shivapura, Banduli and Niglihawa. Among these nine, Thumwa, Thagi Baba Ki Dadi and Shivapura are the more prominent and are less disturbed sites. According to the local people, during the raining season beads, terra-cotta figurines, coins and other objects have been found there. Tumwa, the archaeological site closest to to Niglihawa, has two ancient wells, one still visible and the other filled in with soil. These sites are very close to the Niglihawa pillar, and one of these mounds may represent the ancient stupa seen and mentioned by the Chinese travellers. (Skt. 3)

Many scholars believe that the pillar is not *in situ* (Law, 29: 1979). They agree that the pillar was brought from another place, but they are mute as to why it was shifted to the present site. There is no indication of the reason for the shift. The stupa mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims either belongs to one of the sites mentioned above or was near the pillar site and was destroyed for agricultural purposes. Even today there are many brickbats and potsherds that can be seen in the cultivated fields around the pillar site. The stupa possibly was situated to the east of the pillar and is demolished during the construction of the pond.

The pillar seems to be in its original place. Probably it lay on the Uttarapatha, the ancient northern trade route that covered the entire north of Ganges. We can still trace that trade route on the road from Lumbini to Kapilavastu. There are a series of archaeological sites all along the route from Lumbini to Kapilavastu. If there was no route, how would it have been possible to carry such a huge pillar in the 3rd century B.C.? We may use, as a reference the Lumbini pillar, which at present weigh 37 tons while if we add the bracket and the crowning figure it will come to about 40 tons. Emperor Asoka brought three pillars in the twenty years at followed his coronation. If we assume that these three pillars were of the same height and weight they will come to about 120 tons. A proper road was needed in order to transport such heavy loads. The present Niglihawa pillar seems to be in its original site. Since Waddell in 1898, no one has attempted to open and check its foundation. (Waddell never produced his report on or drawings of his excavation of the foundation of this pillar). It is high time to explore the nearby mounds scientifically and recheck the foundation of the pillar before drawing any ultimate conclusion.

Conclusion:

Niglihawa is now a protected monument and is managed by the Lumbini Development Trust. The UNESCO mission led by Robin Cunningham and Armin Schmidt along with the Nepali team consisting of K.P. Acharya, C.P. Tripathi and S.S. Shrestha from the Department of Archaeology and B. Bidari from Lumbini Development Trust on three occasions conducted an EDM (electrononic distance measurement) survey of the remains. The larger fragment of the pillar has been moved up to the top of the bund and is placed on a brick cradle next to the upright pillar section. The Lumbini Development Trust recently erected a barbed wire fence around these two fragments to lessen the chance of damage by animals, and constructed a blue painted corrugated iron roof on brick pillars to protect the inscriptions from the elements. The floor of the shelter is also paved with brick. Although there is a local chowkidar (guard), the site is very isolated, being some distance from the nearest dwellings. Whilst the shelter and fence protect the inscriptions from the weather and animals, they are easily accessible to people and could easily be damaged or defaced by vandals or children. It is recommended that floor-to-roof stretches of iron fencing be fixed between the brick roof supports in order to prevent access to the pillar itself. This should be done as soon as possible. The site surrounded by paddy land. Every endeavour should be made to ensure that this remains so. The manmade pool is choked by vegetation, its bunds are covered in thick bush, and it is breached on the south-west and north-west corners. It should be repaired and cleared of vegetation. The unmetalled road between the Mahendra Highway and Tilaurakot, though new, is very poorly maintained and has numerous potholes, and should be improved. There is no sign to the site on the roadside and no boards' explaning the site. These should also be provided.

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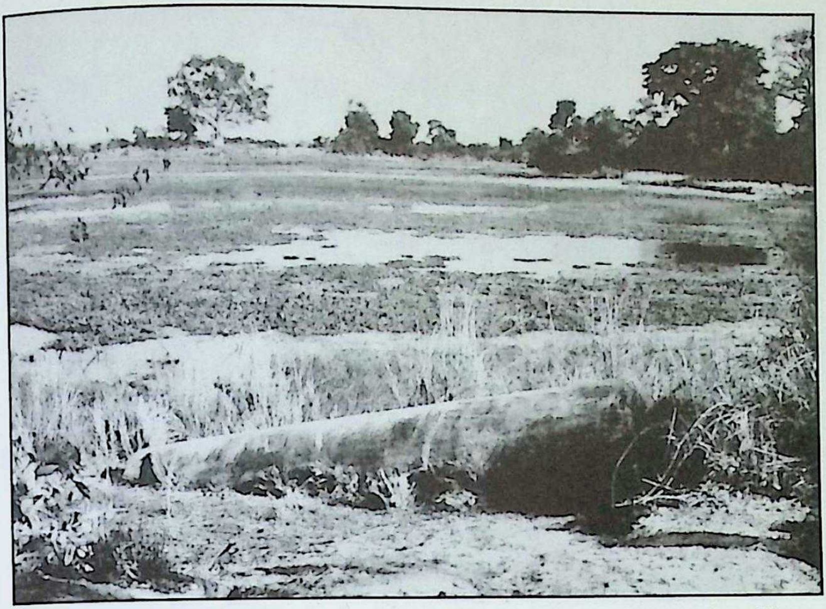
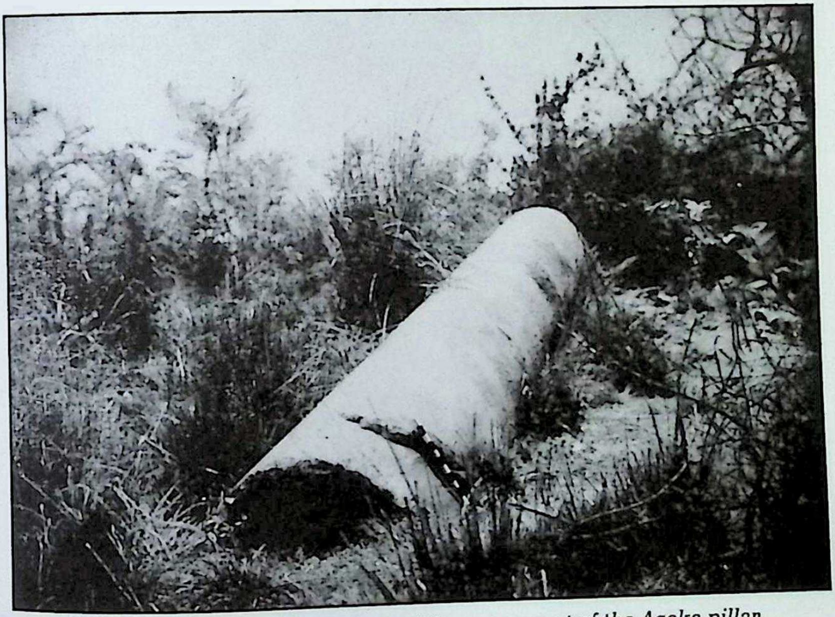
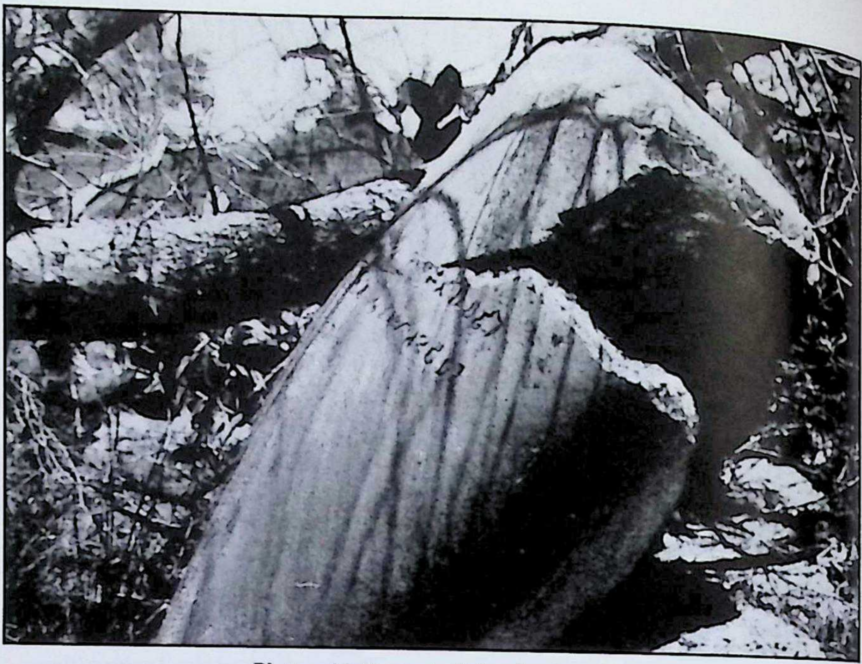


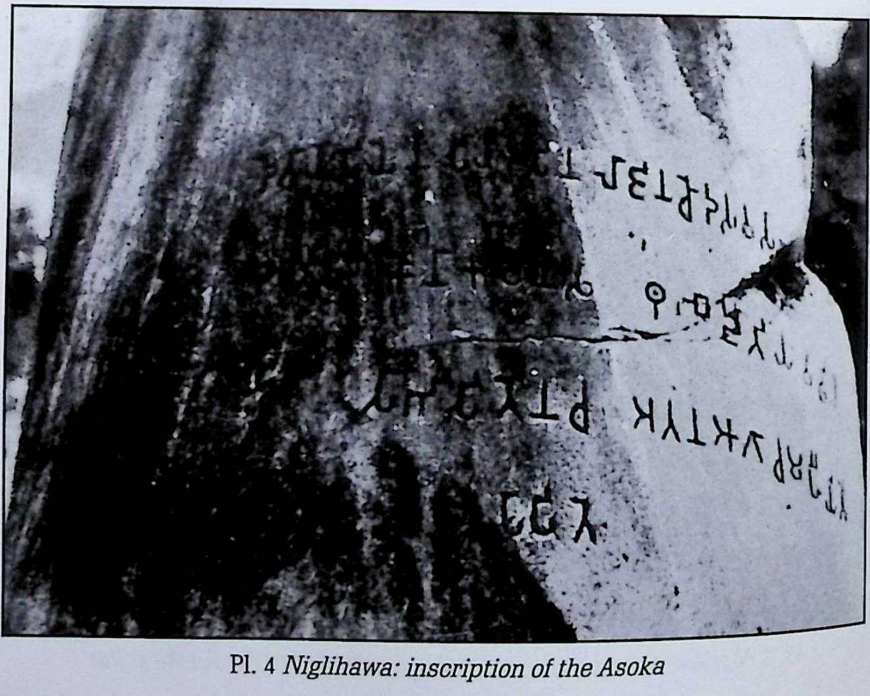
Pl. 1 *Niglihawa: general view of the pond and upper part of the Asoka pillar*



Pl. 2 *Niglihawa: close-up view of the upper-part of the Asoka pillar*

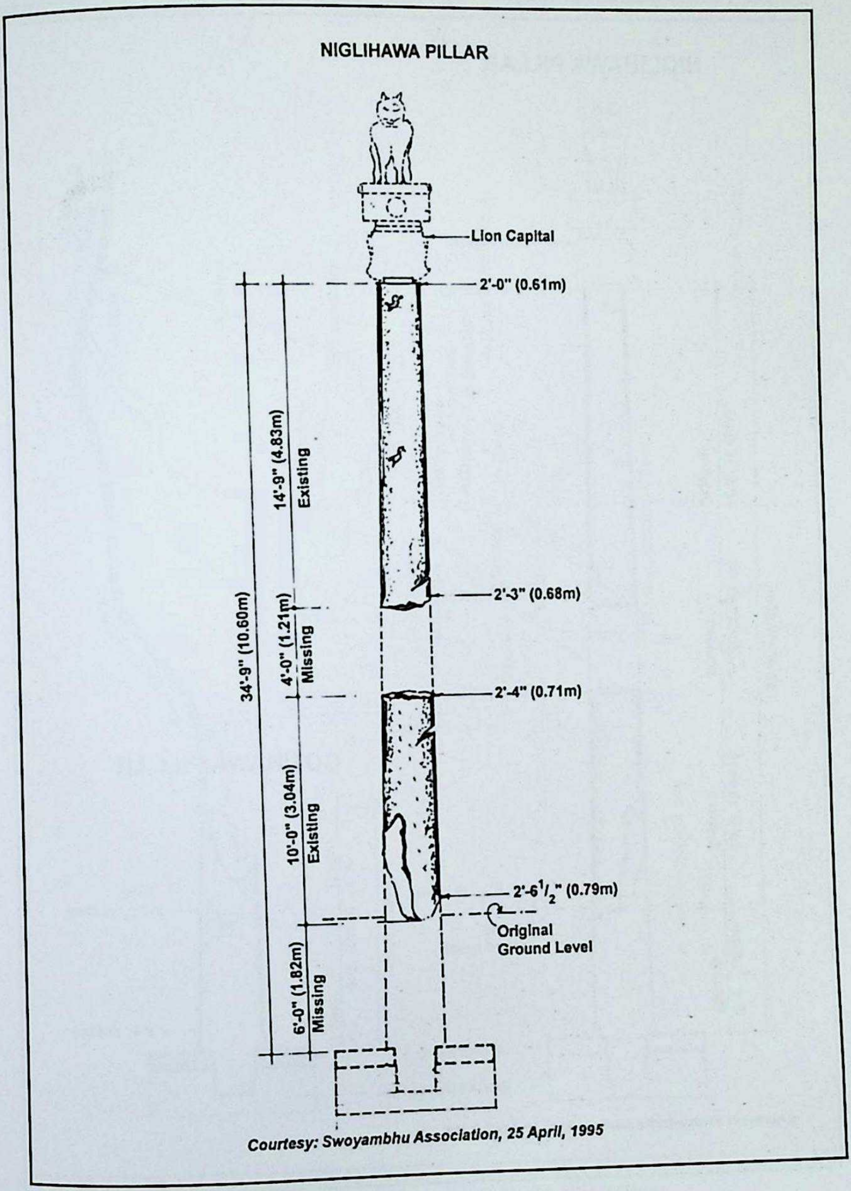


Pl. 3 *middle part of the Asoka pillar*



Pl. 4 *Niglihawa: inscription of the Asoka*

Skt. 1



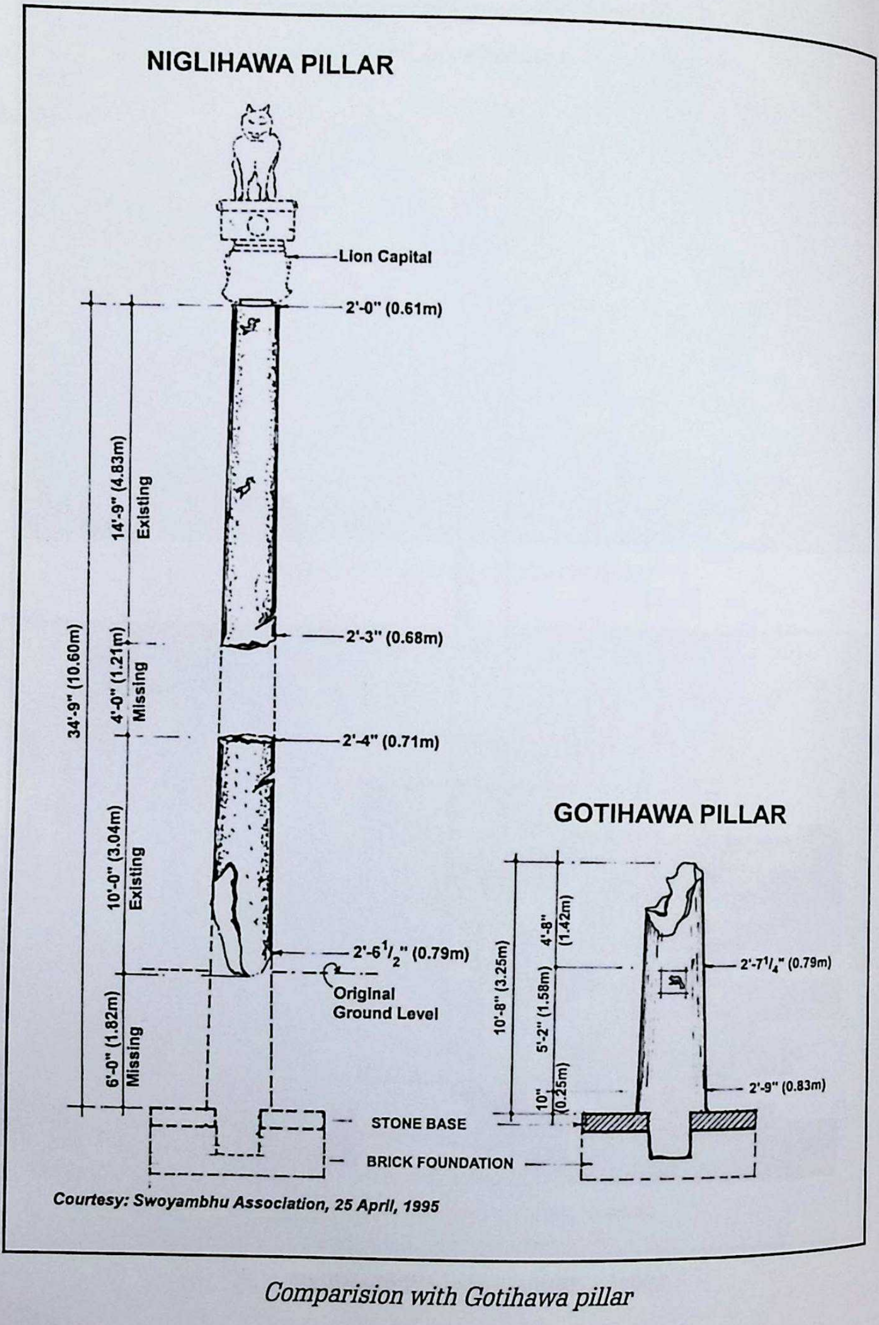
NIGLIHAWA PILLAR

Lion Capital
2'-0" (0.61m)
14'-9" (4.83m)
Existing
2'-3" (0.68m)
34'-9" (10.60m)
4'-0" (1.21m)
Missing
2'-4" (0.71m)
10'-0" (3.04m)
Existing
2'-6$^1/_2$" (0.79m)
Original
Ground Level
6'-0" (1.82m)
Missing

Courtesy: Swoyambhu Association, 25 April, 1995

Measurement of the pillar

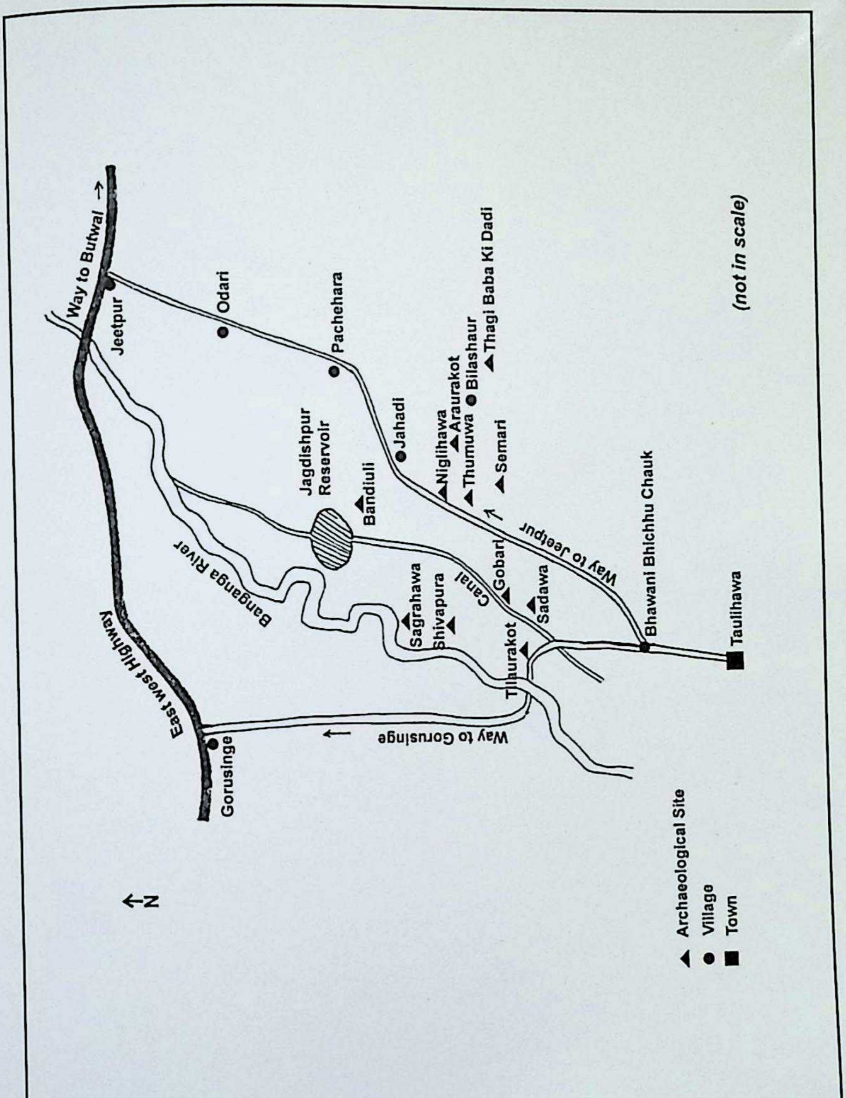
Skt. 2


NIGLIHAWA PILLAR
Lion Capital
2'-0" (0.61m)
34'-9" (10.60m)
14'-9" (4.83m)
Existing
2'-3" (0.68m)
4'-0" (1.21m)
Missing
2'-4" (0.71m)
10'-0" (3.04m)
Existing
2'-6$\frac{1}{2}$" (0.79m)
Original Ground Level
6'-0" (1.82m)
Missing
STONE BASE
BRICK FOUNDATION
GOTIHAWA PILLAR
10'-8" (3.25m)
4'-8" (1.42m)
2'-7$\frac{1}{4}$" (0.79m)
5'-2" (1.58m)
2'-9" (0.83m)
10" (0.25m)

Courtesy: Swoyambhu Association, 25 April, 1995

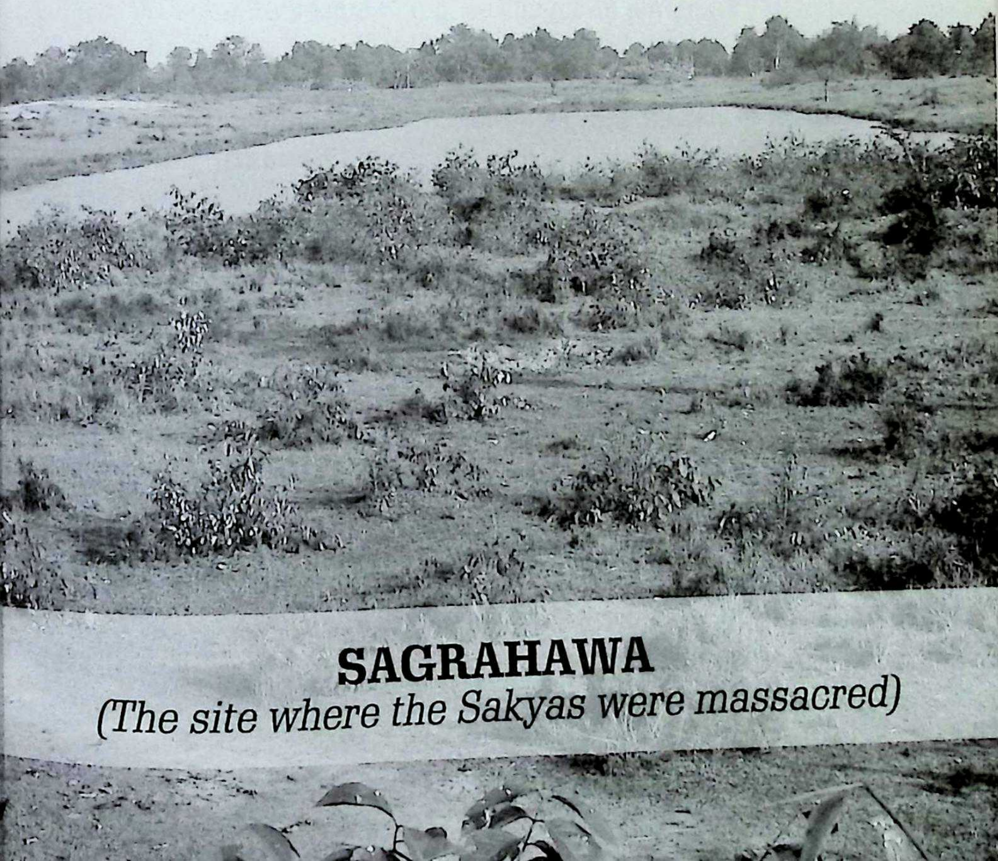
Comparision with Gotihawa pillar

Skt. 3


Way to Butwal →
Jeetpur
Odari
Pachehara
Jagdishpur Reservoir
Jahadi
Bandiuli
Niglihawa
Araurakot
Thumuwa
Bilashaur
Thagi Baba Ki Dadi
Semari
Way to Jeetpur
Bhawani Bhichhu Chauk
Taulihawa
Gobari
Canal
Sadawa
Sagrahawa
Shivapura
Tilaurakot
Banganga River
East west Highway
Way to Gorusinge
Gorusinge
N
▲ Archaeological Site
● Village
■ Town
(not in scale)

Archaeological sites around Niglihawa pillar

CHAPTER 4



SAGRAHAWA

(The site where the Sakyas were massacred)

Observation:

Samuel Beal (1983) translates the part account of Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang dealing with the massacre of the Sakyas as follows:

To the north-west of the capital there are several hundred thousands of stupas, indicating the spot where the members of the Sakya tribe were slaughtered. Virudhaka-raja, having subdued the Sakyas, and captured the members of their tribe to the number of 9990 myriads of people, then ordered them to be slaughtered. They piled their bodies like straw, and their blood was collected in lakes. The Devas moved the hearts of men to collect their bones and bury them.

To the south-west of the place of massacre are four little stupas. This is the place where the four Sakyas withstood an army. When first Prasenajita became king, he sought an alliance by marriage with the Sakya race. The Sakyas despised him as not of their family; and so deceived him by giving him as a wife a child of a servant, whom they largely endowed. Prasenjita-raja established her as his principal queen, and she brought forth in due time a son, who was called Virudhaka-raja. And now Virudhaka was desirous to go to the family of his maternal uncles to pursue his studies under their direction. Having come to the south part of the city, there he saw a new preaching-hall, and there he stopped his chariot. The Sakyas hearing of it forthwith drove him away, saying, "How dare you, base-born fellow! Occupy this abode, an abode built by the Sakyas, in appearance (*or*, intended for) an abode of Buddha?"

After Virudhaka had succeeded to the throne he longed to revenge his former insult; he therefore raised an army and occupied this place with his troops, who took possession of the fields. Four men of the Sakyas, who were engaged in ploughing between the watercourses, immediately opposed the progress of the soldiers, and having scattered them, entered the town. Their clansmen,

> considering that their tribe was one in which there had been a long succession of universal monarchs, and that the honourable children of such righteous kings had dared to act cruelly and impetuously, and without patience to kill and slay, and so had brought disgrace on their family, drove them away from their home.
>
> The four men, having been banished, went to the north among the Snowy Mountains; one became king of the country of Bamyan, one of Udayana, one of Himatala, one of Sambi (Kausambi?). They have transmitted their kingly authority from generation to generation without any interruption (Beal, 20-21: 1983).

Thomas Watters (1973) in his book *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629-645)* differs with regard to the history of Virudhaka as related in the Buddhist books. He summarizes as follows:

> The account given here by Yuan-Chwang differs considerably from the history of Virudhaka as related in the Buddhist books. Thus some authorities represent King Prasenajita as demanding from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu one of their daughters to be his queen in order that he might have an attraction for the Buddha in his palace. The Sakyas, 500 in number, considered the demand in council. They feared to refuse; yet they could not depart from their law, which forbade the marriage of their females with aliens. Their Elder Mahanama got them out of the difficulty by sending his daughter by a female slave or, according to another version, the slave herself, to be the king's bride. But there is yet another account, which represented King Prasenajita as falling in love with a thoughtful young maiden who turned out to be a slave of Sakya Mahanama. The king had demanded the girl from her master, who had seized her for arrears of rent due to him by her late father as his agent. The master gladly complied with the king's request, and the slave girl became a queen. In due course she had a son, a prince who received the name Virudhaka (Vidudabha/Vaidurya). When this son grew to be a young man, he was sent to Kapilavastu to learn archery and other skills in the household or under the supervision of Mahanama, who was

supposed to be his maternal grandfather. The night of his arrival at the city was spent in the new Hall or Chapel, and the young Sakyas treated the Prince with rudeness and violence, or according to others, after he had left, they spoke of him very contemptuously and treated his presence in the Hall as a defilement of the building. In the course of time, Virudhaka succeeded his father as the King of Kosala. After his accession he assembled an army to invade Kapilavastu and to punish the inhabitants for their wanton insults to him in his boyhood. On his way and only a short distance from Sravasti, he had the memorable meeting with the Buddha seated under a dead tree, and then after Buddha left the King of Kosala (Virudhaka) renewed his invasion, leaving the Sakya to their terrible fate. While his forces were encamped in the neighborhood of Kapilavastu, the Sakyas in the city, following the Buddha's advice, shut themselves up within the walls of the palace and made a passive resistance. But one man, She-ma (that is, perhaps Sama, whom Rockhill calls Samaka), living outside Kapilavastu, took up arms against the invaders and defeated and slew many thousands of them.

According to the account by Yuan-Chwang, there were four countrymen who fought and repulsed the invading enemy. As the fighting had taken place without the sanction of the Sakyas, and against their decision to make only a passive resistance, the brave patriot (or patriots) did not receive any recognition from their besieged clansmen, but actually had to undergo the punishment of expatriation. The crime of Sama (or of the four heroes) was that he, a Kshetriya and a member of the Buddhist community, had taken human life, and had caused it to be taken, which is a violation of the principles to which they were all vowed. When Virudhaka found that the Sakyas would not fight he attacked their city, the gates of which were opened to him through bad advice. He then destroyed the buildings of Kapilavastu, and massacred all its inhabitants except a few who managed to escape (Watters, 9-11: 1973).

T.W. Rhys Davids (1971) offers different account of this series of events, especially Virudhaka's attack upon Kapilavastu:

From the desire to associate himself by marriage with the Buddha's family, King Pasenadi (Prasenajita) asked for one of the daughters of the Sakya chiefs as his wife. The Sakyas discussed the proposition in their Mote-Hall, and held it beneath the dignity of their clan. But they sent him a girl named Vasabha Khattiya, the daughter, by a slave girl, of one of their leading chiefs. By her, Pasenadi had the son, Vidudhaba, mentioned above. And it was in consequence of the anger kindled in Vidudhaba's heart at the discovery of the fraud that, having determined to wreak his vengeance on the Sakyas, he, on coming to the throne, invaded their country, took their city, and put to death a great number of the members of the clan, without distinction of age and sex. But the main circumstance of the war against the clan is very early alluded to, and is no doubt a historical fact. It is said to have preceded only by a year or two the death of the Buddha himself.

However the reliable beginning of this story may seen, Davids disagrees that it is so:

The Sakyas may have considered the royal family of Kosala of inferior birth to themselves. There are mentions in several passages of the pride of the Sakyas. But, even so, we cannot see, in the present state of our knowledge, why they should object. We know that the daughter of one of the chiefs of a neighboring clan, equally free and equally proud, the Licchavis of Vaisali, was married to Bimbisara, King of Magadha. It is, furthermore, almost certain that the royal family at Savatthi (Sravasti) was simply one of the patrician families who had managed to secure hereditary consulship in the Kosala clan. For the chiefs among the Kosalas, apart from the royal family, and even the ordinary clansmen (*the Kulaputta*), are designated by the very term (*rajanyo*, kings), which is applied to the chiefs and clansmen of those tribes, which had still remained aristocratic republics. And it is precisely in a very natural tendency to exaggerate the importance of the families of their respective founders that the later records, both of the Jains and the Buddhists, differ from the earlier ones. It is scarcely probable, therefore, that the actual originating cause of Vidudhaba's invasion of the Sakya territory was exactly as set out above. He may have used the arrogance of the Sakyas, perhaps, as a pretext. But the real reasons which induced Vidudabha to attack and conquer his relatives, the Sakyas, were, most likely, the same sort of political motives which later on induced his cousin, Ajatasattu of Magadha, to attack and conquer *his* relatives, the Licchavis of Vaisali (Davids, 10-12: 1971).

A.C.L. Carlleyle (1874-76) in his *Report of Tour in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur*, with reference to the narration of Yuan Chwang's description of the "site of massacre of Sakyas" informs us:

> At some distance to the north-east of Kapilavastu, there were stupas, in hundreds and thousands, which marked the spot where a number of Sakyas were massacred, in an attack made upon Kapilavastu by Virudhaka Raja of Sravasti, after he had dethroned his father Prasenajita, who had been friend as well as a kinsman of the family of Sakya, or Buddha.
>
> Unfortunately Hiuen Tsiang did not state the distance, at which these stupas were situated from the city, or the place of Kapilavastu, and therefore it is impossible to tell whether it was one mile or ten miles. I have, however, explored the country for a distance of 8 miles to the north-west from Bhila and the only remains of any number of stupa that I have been able to find, is at a site called "Bhata" or Kosala about a mile and half to the north-west from Bhila, and about a mile to the north-west of an old village called Sarangi; here there is a high piece of ground, which is full of bricks and covered by a grove of trees, and which is called "Bhata" in Hindi, which means unfortunate or calamitous, or accursed; but I suspect that it may perhaps be a corruption of the Sanskrit "badha" which means "slaughtered" or massacred (Carlleyle, 172-173: 1879).

Carlleyle's exploration was mainly centered on Gorakhpur and Basti districts of Uttarpradesh. He did not visit the Nepalese Tarai or explore the region of Kapilavastu. His conclusion regarding the identification of Kapilavastu was misleading to the future explorers of this region.

C.S. Antonini notes in an article from 1981:
Let me try to outline at least the more remarkable stages of their work starting, of course, from Cunningham. He began by identifying Sravasti, the site of Sahet Mahet, an imposing heap of ruins on the southern bank of the Rapti River about 100 km from Ayodhya (Basti District, U.P.). On the basis of the distance and other geographical data given by the Chinese pilgrims, Cunningham submitted that Nagar-Khas (which is in Basti District) could have been the ancient Kapilavastu. However, he never had an opportunity to conduct an archaeological survey of that area. Some years later (1874-76) when Carlleyle (1879) corrected this indication and maintained that the site of Bhuila Dih was the ancient Kapilavastu. Cunningham, too, was willing to accept his assistant's proposal. Carlleyle himself, though, carried out a careful survey in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur area, based his fascinating and complex theory essentially on philological data (Antonini, 314: 1981).

It was impossible to point out the site where the Sakyas were massacred without knowing the exact location of Kapilavastu. The site was found only after the explorations of Dr. Fuhrer in the Kapilavastu region of the Nepalese Tarai.

Location of Sagrahawa:
Sagrahawa (lat. 27°36′50″ N long. 83°5′ 30″ E.) is situated in Niglihawa Village Development Committee Ward No. 9. Locally it is called Lambu Sagar (Lambu = long and Sagar = pond). It is the site where the Sakyas were massacred. The ancient ruins are situated on the west and south banks of a large manmade

pond. The location of this place is about 9 km north-east of Taulihawa, the district headquarters of the Kapilavastu district of western Nepal. It is about 3 km north from Tilaurakot. There are other ways to reach this place, namely by Canal Road along the Jagadishpur reservoir or over the Taulihawa-Jitpur road. It is west of the Niglihawa Asoka pillar and can be reached by visiting the Niglihawa pillar site, passing through Niglihawa village and crossing the canal bridge. (Pl. 1)

Dr. Fuhrer in 1897:

During the excavations conducted by Dr. Fuhrer in Sagrahawa village he was severely criticized for wholesale destruction of the site. Scholars claimed that he ransacked the stupas and monasteries to their foundation. Mukherji wrote: "Extremely to be deplored that so much destructive work has been done in the name of archaeology" (Mukherji, 26: 1969). The main charges were (1) Dr. Fuhrer did not produce any report or photographs of his excavation. (2) There is no inventory of the antiquities from the diggings. (3) He destroyed the structures down to the foundation level. (4) He took many antiquities back himself in the name of scientific analyses. Infact, Dr. Fuhrer prepared excavation notes on Sagrahawa and submitted then to the Nainital Branch of Archaeological Survey of India. Along with his report he enclosed photographs and drawings of the excavation. He further states that there was a Nepali gentleman, Chautariya Captain Bir Jung of Butwal-Tansen deputed by the Nepal Darbar to supervise the excavation. Thus at least some of the accusations do not stand. After a painstaking search, the report of Dr. Fuhrer submitted to the Nainital Branch in 1898 it has been traced but no photographs have been found.

Reproduced below are the relevant portions of the Sagrahawa excavation report prepared and submitted by Dr. Fuhrer.

No. AS/48, dated, Lucknow, the 7th April 1898
From: A. Fuhrer, Ph.D. Archaeological Surveyor, N.W.P. and Oudh
To: The secretary to Government,
N.W.P. and Oudh, P.W.D., B. and R. Branch, Nainital

1. I have the honor to forward the Annual Progress Report of the Epigraphical Section of this survey circle, for the year ending the 30th June 1898, together with the program for the next working season.

2. Duplicate sets of the nine photographs taken on tour to accompany the report are forwards by separate book post.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVEY, N.W.P. AND OUDH CIRCLE PROGRESS REPORT OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SECTION FOR THE WORKING SEASON OF 1897-98

Nepalese excavation in the western Tarai – In accordance with Government of India, Foreign Department, letter no. 1764E. - B dated the 19th November 1897, communicated under cover of G.O. No. 2594M/49, dated 23rd November 1897, I left for Nigliva on the 17th December 1897, in order to assist the Nepal Government with advice and suggestions.

1. As regards the best course to be followed in the excavations of the ancient site of Kapilavastu, for which purpose the Kathmandu Darbar had very generously sanctioned a sum of Rs.2000/-, the warmest acknowledgements of the Department, as well as of all students of the ancient history of India are due in the first instance to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Nepal, who very courteously permitted me to be present at these interesting excavations and to prepare drawings and photographs of the various objects brought to light in the course of these explorations. That this year's excavation operations have been successful in cleaning up some dark periods of the early history of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu is partly due to the foresight and energy of Chauttariya Captain

Bir Jung of Butwal-Tansen, who, being deputed by the Nepal Darbar to superintend the excavations on behalf of his Government, was ever ready to accept my advice, and to carry out my suggestions. The results obtained are in every respect encouraging. The present enlightened Government of Nepal has rendered a great service to archaeological science, and deserves the grateful thanks of all interested in the history of the development of early Buddhism.

2. The excavations were started on the 22nd December 1897 and from that time till the beginning of March 1898, about 200 coolies, mostly Tharus, were hard at work. In the commencement the work did not progress as fast as one would have wished it, as the men were unaccustomed to the use of pickaxes and shovels, and as every eight days fresh relays of labourers took up the places of those returning to their village homes; but after one month's trial the work went on steadily, and smoothly, so that in due time the men became quite experts in digging.

3. The present excavations have established beyond doubt the correctness of Hiuen Tsiang's description of the ruined city of Kapilavastu in three very important points. According to his *Si-Yu-Ki* (Vol. II, page 15) "The place of massacre" of the Sakyas who fell in battle with the Kosalan army of King Vidudabha of Sravasti, shortly before the demise of Gotama Buddha, was situated to the north-west of the capital. Following this direction, we dug into the vast brick ruins skirting the eastern bank of the Banganga, and stretching far away between the Tharu village of Sagrava and Bandhauli, and were rewarded by finding a great number of small square relic-stupas, built of well-burnt bricks, and varying in size from 19′ by 19′ to 7′ 9″ and in height from 12 feet to 5 feet. These square relic-stupas are the oldest monuments ever unearthed in India, as hitherto only hemispherical-domed relic shrines had been found. Just as described by Hiuen Tsiang, "several hundreds and thousands"

of these small stupas are arranged in long symmetrical rows on the four sides of the largest square stupa, standing in the center of the battlefield, and measuring 43.6′ × 43.6′ × 22.9′. About 7′ 9″ from the base of this stupa we came upon a peculiar arrangement, the whole surface being divided into 49 squares (See photograph No. D 736), comprising seven squares in each row. On the level of the foundations, exactly in the true center of the stupa, the relic-chamber was reached, which contained a cylindrical red earthenware casket covered with an ornamented copper lid, on which was incised in pre-Asokan characters the following: - "Relics of the Sakya Mahanama", the successor of King Suddhodana at Kapilavastu. In the relic-casket were several small pieces of human bone and a series of the precious things, which are usually placed along with the relics on an eminent person. These consisted of two heavy triangular bits of gold and silver, two figures of Nagas worked in gold, pieces of a pale greenish crystal, a garnet and a ruby, besides some grains of rice and pieces of black and white talc.

Adjoining this stupa on the east, we disclosed the solid foundation walls, still 24 feet high and 6 feet broad, of a large monastery (see photograph No. 737), built in the form of a cross, and measuring 79′ 4″ from north to south by 52 feet from west to east and comprising twelve rooms, each measuring 10½″×9′ Of the small square stupas we opened seventeen in all, which contained in beautifully-worked and moulded copper bronze urns, the ashes of the following Sakya heroes, viz., *Kundakumara, Junhakumara, Dhammapalakumara, Ajjunakumara, Mahimsaasakumar, Yudhitthakumar, Guttilakumara, Nandisena, Surasena, Sagaragutta, Aggidatta, Cetaputta, Giridanta, Sutasoma, Akitti, Upananda and Sabbadatta.* These stupas are built of well-burnt bricks, laid in clay, measuring 11 inches by 7 by 1½. Exactly in the true center of each shrine at the level of the foundations, we discovered the relic chamber built up in some instances of nine, seven and five bricks, respectively, impressed with well-executed design of a full-blown lotus flower or a *swastika*, under which the relic caskets were buried in the soil. The remaining bricks, forming the relic-chambers, bore representations of the arms and instruments used by the Sakyas in the battle, such as daggers, swords of different sorts, javelins, battle-axes, tridents, thunderbolts (i.e., symbols of universal dominion), shields and standards. The lid of these copper and bronze urns, of which in these instances even five were enshrined in one stupa, were secured by oxidation, and on opening them we found burnt human bone and the seven precious stones and metals which are usually deposited with the holiest relics, such as gold, silver, diamond, lapis lazuli, amethyst, ruby, and pearl. The names of the slaughtered Sakyas are for the most part engraved in pre-Asoka characters on the outside of the caskets, in two instances written in ink inside the lid, and in three cases they are carved in bricks forming the relic-chamber.

4. In order to test in another instance the accuracy of Hiuen Tsiang's description of Kapilavastu, we examined the ruins of the ancient Saiva temple, which was situated outside the eastern gate of the city. Accordingly a thorough exploration of the ruins to the north of the Tharu village of Bikuli revealed the foundation walls of one small square and two large octagonal brick temples of Siva. The largest octagonal temple has a diameter of 74½ feet whilst the small square temple 11'3" × 10'9" only, all three buildings being still over 18 feet high. Amongst the debris of the largest temple we discovered a huge stone of Abhayadevi, the tutelar goddess of the Sakyas, sculptured as if "rising in a bent position" as described by Hiuen Tsiang. About eight large stone Lingams were found still fixed in their original positions; these Lingams differ from those usually found in ancient Saiva temples, as they are octagonal at the base, four-sided in the middle, and cylindrical at the top. Besides being worshippers of Siva, the Sakya also paid reverence to the Nagas, as we found images of Nagas worked in gold and silver, in almost all the relic

caskets enshrined in the small square stupas on "the place of massacre".

5. In yet a third instance Hiuen Tsiang's account proved to be correct. According to his itinerary, Kakusandha Buddha's relic stupa, with its Asoka Edict pillar, stood about six miles to the south of Kapilavastu. This direction pointed to the modern village of Gotihava, just 2½ miles south-west of Taulihava, where a high conical-shaped brick mound still exists. On excavating the western side of this mound, we alighted upon a broken Asoka column (see photograph No. D 738), still 10'-9" high, standing *in situ* upon a masonry basement being one solid block of stone measuring 7' × 5'-9" × 1'. Its circumference is 8'-8" below and 8'-3" above or 5 inches more than that of the Rummindei pillar. As the season had already far advanced, we were unable to continue our researches in order to trace the missing position of this pillar, on which no doubt Asoka's edict was engraved.

6. The present excavations, which have brought to light buildings much older than any previously known in India, have clearly proved that the city of Kapilavastu, which was destroyed shortly before the demise of Gotama Buddha, has never since been occupied. The remains are for the greatest part buried in jungle, and are so extensive that their thorough exploration will require the labour and patient investigation of many years.

7. [In this section, concerning the excavation of Gotama Buddha's relic stupa at Piprahawa, Dr. Fuhrer gives details of Mr. W.C. Peppe's important finds in January 1898:] This Piprahawa stupa is, therefore, the identical one which the Sakyas of Kapilavastu erected over their share of the relics, received at the time of the partition, and which was built for the express purpose of spreading the belief in Buddha.

8. [In this section Dr. Fuhrer reports on two ancient inscriptions in Kharosthi script found at the village of Maira, near the Salt Range in the Jhelum district of Punjab.

9. During the camping season, 20 sheets of drawings (Nos. 958-977) and 9 photographs (Nos.D.736-744) as detailed in the appendices to the Architectural Surveyor's report have been prepared by Babu Bhairava Bakhsh, who accompanied me as draftsman to the Nepal Tarai.

10. Programmed for 1899-1900. With the sanction of the Nepal Darbar, I propose to proceed to the Tarai in November next, in order to assist in the excavations of King Suddhodana's palace precincts at Kapilavastu, of relic-stupas at Gotiva and Lori-ki-kudan, and of the vast and interesting ruins lying between the villages of Gaura and Shishania in Tashil Tauliva of Zillia Butaul. Should, however, the Nepal Darbar not feel inclined to continue the explorations in the Tarai, I would recommend a thorough investigation of the four or five ruined mounds in close proximity to the relic-stupa at Piprahawa in the Basti district.

Lucknow Museum,	A. Fuhrer, Ph.D.
Archaeological Surveyor,	The 7th April 1898
N.W.P. and Oudh	(Fuhrer, 1-4: 1898).

Vincent A. Smith dismissed the report of Dr. Fuhrer. His observations on the Sagrahawa excavations differ significantly:

The meagre genuine results of Dr. Fuhrer's excavations at Sagrava are set forth-in Mr. Mukherji's report and are fully illustrated in plates VIII to XIII. Attention is invited to the remarkable plan of the foundations of the large building, which was destroyed by the excavations of the Nepalese and Dr. Fuhrer. The inscriptions of the Sakya alleged to have been found in the small stupas at Sagrava are impudent forgeries, and when Dr. Fuhrer supplied the Burmese priest U Ma with some relics of Buddha, he endeavored to support the imposition by a forged inscription of Upagupta, the guru of Asoka. In the course of my official duty I investigated the whole case and no doubt as to the fact is possible. I find that he reserved language used in previous official documents has been sometimes misinterpreted (sic) and it is now necessary in the interests of truth to speak out plainly (Smith, 3-4: 1969).

The remains at Sagrava may have been included, but I think it more probable that they represent the supposed scene of the slaughter of the Sakyas, a short distance north-west of the capital. The fact that in the seventeen small stupas opened by Dr. Fuhrer the bricks over the relic or ashes caskets bore representations of weapons indicates that the person whose cremation is commemorated fell in the battle (Smith, 13: 1969).

Though Smith disapproved of Dr. Fuhrer's shoddy excavation techniques, acknowledged Sagrahawa as "The site where the Sakyas were massacred," as identified by Dr. Fuhrer.

P.C. Mukherji in 1899:

P.C. Mukherji was commissioned to explore the Nepalese Terai in February and March 1899 and fix the position of the city of Kapilavastu as a whole as accurately as possible, in relation to points within British territory- to Tauliva, Nigliva and the great mounds at Tilaurakot, Lori-ki-Kudan, and the various Tharu villages. During his explorations in the aforesaid places he visited Sagarwa (Sagrahawa). He gives details of the structures exposed in the previous year: (Skt. 1)

About two miles north of Tilaura-kot, and embedded in the dense and thorny jungle, is a large ancient tank, known as Sagar, 1059′×225′. It is about two furlongs east of Banganga and the village of Sagarwa, the name of which is derived from the tank. About 120 feet west of the tank, is a high mound, which two years ago the Nepalese had excavated and exhumed an ancient building. Last year when Dr. Fuhrer was here, this mound was further excavated and a structure of twelve rooms, each about 9'×10' with very thick walls and planned in the form of a cross, was brought to light. The walls are very broad, being between 6' and 4' feet thick and still about 15 feet high. (Skt. 2) No door or opening was visible in the walls of the rooms. Attached to the western wall of this monument was a solid structure in brick, the whole superstructure was probably in the form of a stupa. Its lower portion existed up to about 15 feet. About 15 feet below the summit of the solid brickwork, which was removed, a plan of 49 square was exposed. A tank, about 5 feet deep and 35½ feet square, was excavated, and then a smaller tank, 15' square and 3' deep, was cut through the solid brickwork. In the center was found a single earthenware casket, of which the lid was of copper. This casket contained bones, two triangular bits of gold and silver, two nagas in gold, greenish crystals, a ruby, talc, and a few grains of rice. It is extremely to be deplored that so much destructive work has been done in the name of archaeology. When I arrived, I could not see what the Doctor described; but instead found a small tank in the midst of a deeper and bigger one on the west of the structure from the walls of which bricks are now removed by the villagers.

About 200 feet east of the monument was a long row of small stupas, which Dr. Fuhrer described as square. But I very much doubt the existence of square stupas, for, since their superstructure was in ruins, the square basement cannot prove that they were square above. Stupas commonly rise from a square basement, and then form the dome and the hemisphere. What I saw is a long series of small tanks in a deep hollow extending about 350 feet southward and about 70 feet west of the tank. About 220 feet south of the tank is another long hollow, caused by last year's excavations, which extended 250 feet further southward. About 320 feet south of the so-called vihara was another stupa, 33'×25', marked 2, and in the plan and about 200 feet further south is a room, 33½'×32T!'. About 25 feet west of the big stupa, which had inside 49 subdivisions, are two plots of excavated areas, where was found the corner of a room, on the south of which are two small stupas. On the north also are some ruins embedded in the ground. About a furlong further north are remains of brick structures on the way from Sagarwa to Bandauli.

Now, returning to the excavated area on the west of the tank, I found traces of about seven small stupas, which have been completely dug out, leaving small tanks full of water. In the absence of records, I referred to the draftsman, Babu Bhairava Buksh, who drew the seventeen stupas last year, while being destroyed, and who has numbered them from memory. About 700 feet, south-east of these and about 200 feet south of the tank the hollow showed marks of nine stupas.

The dimensions of the bases of these seventeen Sakyas, which have been thus removed from the face of the earth, were not uniform. The largest, No. 9, for example was about 19 feet square, while the smallest, No. 12, was about 3 feet only. Structure No. 7 was 10½' square, and 8½' in height. These stupas were built of well-burnt brick, which measured 11'×7'×1½' and were laid in clay. At the level of the foundations the last layer consisted of nine, seven, or five bricks, each carved in the design of a full-blown lotus, under which the relic caskets were found embedded in the soil.

Now to give details of the base of the stupas: - I may commence with No. 1, which was 4¾'×4¼'. Removing all the bricks, Dr. Fuhrer came down upon the last course or layer of bricks, which consisted of five laid in the level of the earth, and of which the four on the outside showed marks of a cross. The ends of the cross were turned on the left. The fifth brick in the middle had a circular hole in the center of the upper surface. Above this central brick was another, which had the carving of a lotus flower. The relic-casket was found below the brick with the lotus. (Skt. 3)

No. 2, which was 17'×16' in size, had, in the last layer of bricks (each 10½' ×7½') four *Swastika* (cross) in the four corners, and in the central one, a lotus, of which the center showed a hole. Below this central brick and in the level of earth, was found a relic-casket containing two Nagas and four pieces of silver and gold. (Skt. 4)

No. 3, which was 10¾′ ×10¼′ in size, yielded a casket below a carved brick. The casket was of the usual pattern, in which ten relics were found; in one leaf was what looked like a seated human figure and in another an animal.

No. 4, which was 15′×15½′ in size, appeared to be very rich in yielding relics. In the center hole of a brick carved with lotus were found the relics. A large lotus in a leaf covered the hole of the brick, underneath which were found a Naga and six other relics of sorts.

No. 5, size 17½′×17½′, showed, in the lowest layer, 5 bricks having a carving of a lotus, one being in the center and four in the north-east, north-west, south-west and south-east. Below these were found five relic-caskets. (Skt. 5)

No. 6, size 16¾′×16¼′, showed, in the lowest stratum, bricks, of which the eight outer ones exhibited symbols of Trisula (trident), dagger, arrow, etc. The brick, covering the relic-casket, showed the usual lotus done in a square. (Skt. 6)

No.7, size 10½′×10¾′, and before excavation, was 8½′ in height. No relics appear to have been found here.

No. 8, size 14½′×15¼′, showed 9 bricks in the lowest stratum, all exhibiting devices with the exception of the central one, on which is carved a lotus, circular in design, below which was found the relic-casket. It contained seven relics. (Skt. 7)

No. 9, size 19′×19′, showed 9 bricks in the lowest stratum. The eight outer bricks showed different kinds of ancient weapons and the central brick a lotus, below which was found the casket with five relics. (Skt. 8)

No.10, size 17¾'×17½', showed, in the lowermost layer, a single square brick carved with lotus, above which is another layer of three bricks marked with signs. Above this again, were four bricks, also figured with Trisula, dagger etc. (Skt. 9)

No.11, size 13½'×13½', appeared to have no relics yielded.

No.12, size 12¼'×12¼', yielded three caskets below a covered brick.

No.13, size 15½'×15½', showed five bricks in the lowest stratum, of which the four outer ones showed a cross, trident, dagger, and disc and the central one a lotus, below which was found a beautiful casket in bronze. It contained three relics.

No. 14, size 16'×15¼', had lowest brick carved in lotus and another brick of peculiar shape having a knob in a circular hole and a clay casket. (Skt. 10)

No. 15, size 11'×12', had ten bricks in the lowest stratum, of which five were carved with a lotus, yielding from below two relics-caskets. (Skt. 11)

No. 16, size 7¾' ×7½'.

No. 17, size 11¾' ×12'.

These two, Nos. 16 and 17, do not appear to have been fully excavated, and so did not yield any relics.

Besides those detailed above, I could not find any other mound either in the thick forest or in the open, though I walked several times and in different directions. About half a mile south of the big stupa is the village of Srinagar, on the west of which the ground is high on two sides of an ancient channel, now dry. And on the north of the village is an ancient tank.

The rows of stupas were identified by Dr. Fuhrer as the "Place of Massacre of Sakyas" mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, as being situated several *li* on the normth-west of Kapilavastu, which the Doctor locates somewhere here. He as Jagadishpur and Bikuli described the outer boundary of Kapilavastu on the north, Srinagar, Ahirauli and Rampur on the east, and Siugurh and Ramghat on the south. At the same time, he locates the south gate of the capital somewhere near Srinagar. If the city extended some 3 miles south of Srinagar, how could the south gate be fixed here at a point, which according to him was evidently the middle of the eastern side? And if the place of the massacre or battlefield was several *li* north-west of the city, how can it occupy its very center? And if the Bikuli temple was the very shrine of the Isvara, where the infant Bodhisattva was taken on his way from Lumbini to the city, it cannot be far from the north-west boundary line, for it should be some distance from the city and on the south-east and not to the north-east. In fact, Dr. Fuhrer's identifications are full of contradictions. In the region, consisting of several villages, mentioned by him, I could not detect any ruins, except those at the Sagarwa forest, Bikuli, and in the jungle about two furlongs west of Ahirauli. No ruins have been found in any other village. I cannot, therefore, understand how he could extend the city over so many villages and determine its central point in such erroneous and contradictory fashion (Mukherji, 25-28: 1969).

Smith, remarking on Mukherji's report, notes:
Mr. Mukherji correctly observes that the fact that the basements of the small stupas were square does not prove that the stupas themselves were square. Mr. William Peppe and I happened to ride up on the 28th January 1898 just as Dr. Fuhrer was exhuming the deposit of five caskets from stupa No. 5, and I remember that Dr. Fuhrer specially drew our attention to the occurrence of square stupas as remarkably lovely. Unfortunately no drawings of sections of the stupas were made to verify the observation, but my impression is that the buildings were really square (Smith, 3: 1969).

After Mukherji no archaeological activity was carried out at Sagarhawa approximately for 63 years.

Mrs. D. Mitra in 1962:
She made observations and raised some question about the site. Her opinions are based on the drawings of Bhairava Buksh, the draftsman with Dr. Fuhrer in 1898:

Both V.A. Smith and P.C. Mukherji were in favor of Fuhrer's identification of the site with the place of the massacre of the Sakyas. They also regarded those seventeen structures as stupas, as several of them yielded some precious objects, like gold and silver pieces including nagas, flowers and leaves and semiprecious stones, usually deposited within vases. These vases were mostly found buried in the ground immediately below the central brick, carved with a lotus, of the bottom course of the foundation brickwork. Whether they actually contained ashes or bones as reported by Fuhrer does not appear to have been ever verified (these vases and their contents were handed over to the representative of the Nepal Government) and P.C. Mukherji had no chance to see the deposit, and V.A. Smith, who once paid a visit when the excavation was in progress, only remembered to have seen a few gold stars in the small metal casket, found on that particular day. In case these vases did not contain ashes and bones, there will be little justification for identifying these structures with Buddhist stupas as the site, which evidently once nourished a flourishing religious establishment, did not produce any antiquity specifically Buddhist and there are textual prescription for the deposit of precious things (*ratnavasa*) in the foundations of temples. The deposit of *kumbhas* (vase) or *nidhi-kumbhas* within the foundations of temples is also attested by several texts. Even if these structures are regarded as stupas, it is difficult to agree with regard to their supposed early date, as stupas with such high square bases are not met with in the pre-Christian period (Mitra, 233: 1972).

Discussion:

Mitra's inspections on Sagrahawa's structures are not easy to accept. She has nothing at all to say about the descriptions left by the famous Chinese travellers. Their descriptions of the site do have some meaning. If many sites in India and the Nepalese Tarai have been discovered by relying on them, then why questions their relevency for this site? Both Smith and Mukherji have come to the same conclusion about the site, based on the directions and description given by the Chinese travellers.

Mitra assumed that if the associate vases did not contain ashes and bones, there would be little justification for calling the structures Buddhist stupas. She appears to be questioning the findings of Fuhrer. Fuhrer did not produce satisfactory evidence of ashes and bones, but we do find these objects in Bhairava Buksh's drawings. (She herself has reproduced these drawings in her report on the Tilaura-kot and Kudan excavations). Of those 17 stupas, only nos. 7, 10, no. 11, no. 16 and no. 17 did not contain relics in the caskets, but all the other 12 caskets did. Interestingly, stupa no. 1 contains one casket with ten relics, no. 4 one naga and six other relics, no. 5 five relic caskets, no. 6 with one casket, no. 8 with a relic casket with seven relics, no. 9 a casket with five relics, no. 12 three caskets, no. 13 a beautiful casket in bronze with three relics, no. 14 a clay casket and no. 5 two relic caskets.

If these structures were not stupas, then what was the purpose of putting these reliccaskets in them? Mitra further notes:

Analyzing the patterns from the available report of P.C. Mukherji and the drawings of Bhairava Buksh, it appears that the lotus formed the most important motif. For, out of the thirteen small structures which yielded the so-called relics or caskets, twelve (structures 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15) had vases immediately below the brick carved with a lotus and the remaining one (structure 4) bears a precious deposit with the central socket (covered by a lotus-marked leaf) of the lotus-marked brick itself (Mitra, 235: 1972).

On the basis of these lotus marks on the bricks, she came to the conclusion that they are the remains of a temple. She has given references to several texts including the *Silpa-poth* (a manuscript of which is in Orissa), *Aparajitaprecha* and *Visvakarma-Prakas*. It is hard to determine the dates of these works (and she has not given any). The question arises, then, whether these works are earlier than the structures and whether the structures were constructed according to them. We cannot version disagree with the travellers' descriptions.

No archaeological activities were carried out at Sagrahawa after the visit of Dr. Fuhrer. The beauty of the site is being lost, its green forest being cut down for fuel and dwelling. The site is slowly being occupied by villagers and turned into cultivated fields and pastureland.

It is the time that the site to be protected with fencing and guards. There is need for a large-scale excavation in order to tap the actual history of the site and to be able to develop the site as both a pilgrimage centre and a historical tourist destination. A good road to the site and informative signboards will also be required.

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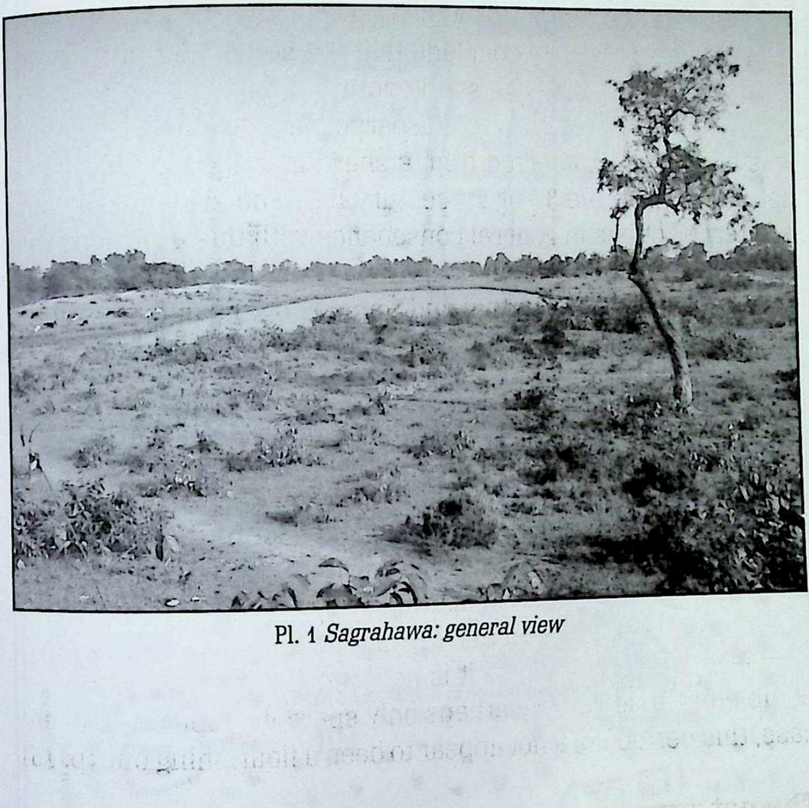
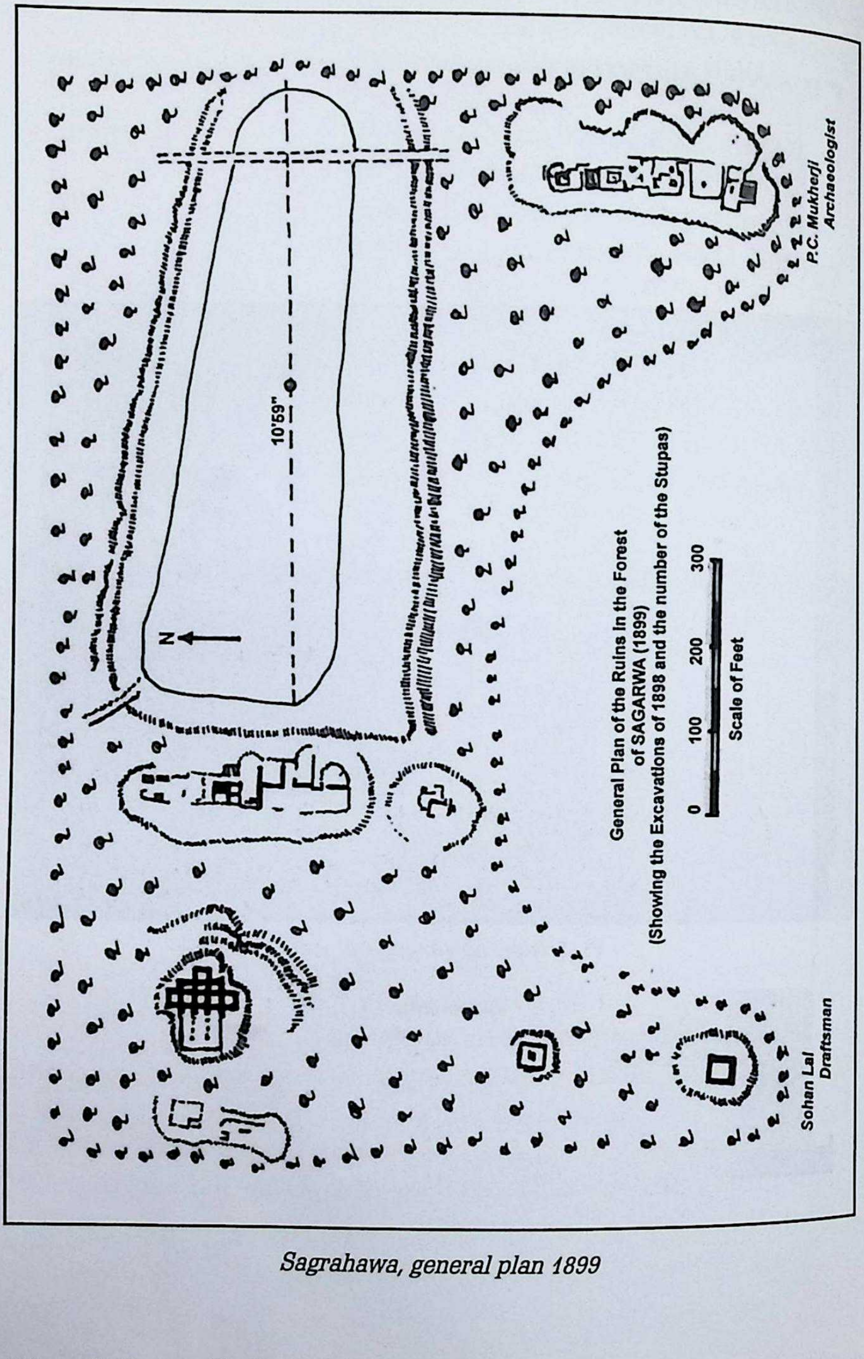


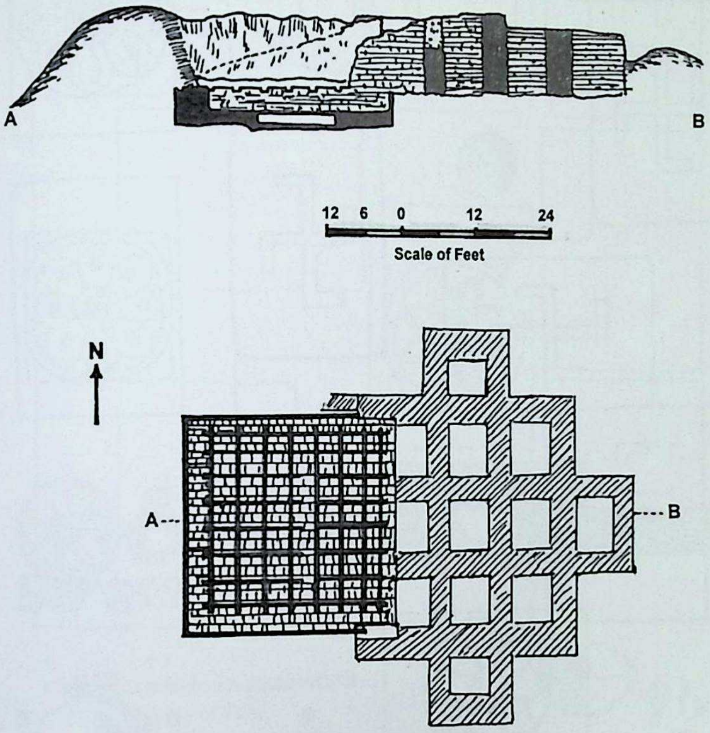
Pl. 1 *Sagrahawa: general view*

Skt. 1


10'59"
N
General Plan of the Ruins In the Forest
of SAGARWA (1899)
(Showing the Excavations of 1898 and the number of the Stupas)
0
100
200
300
Scale of Feet
P.C. Mukherji
Archaeologist
Sohan Lal
Draftsman

Sagrahawa, general plan 1899

Skt. 2


A
B
12 6 0 12 24
Scale of Feet
N
A
B

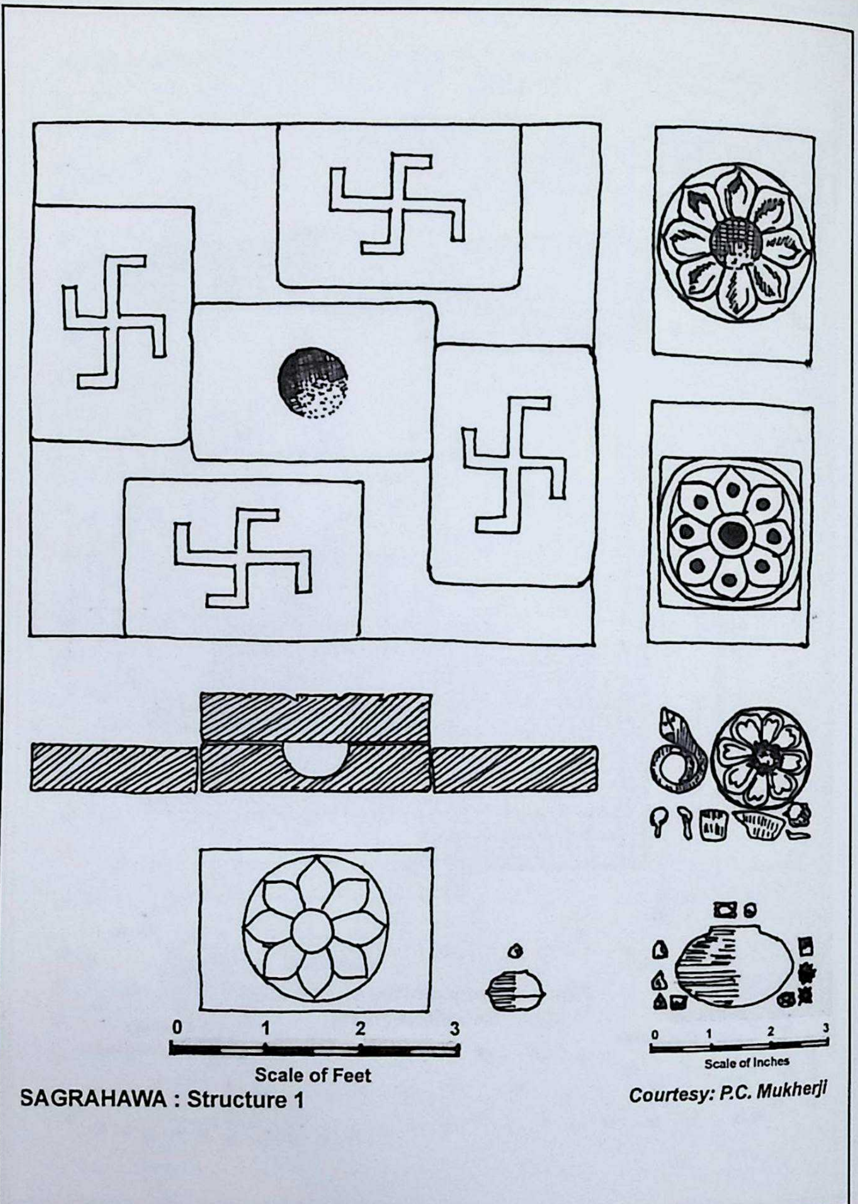
Plan and Section of the Stupa-Vihara
SAGARWA (1899)

Sohan Lal
Draftsman

P.C. Mukherji
Archaeologist

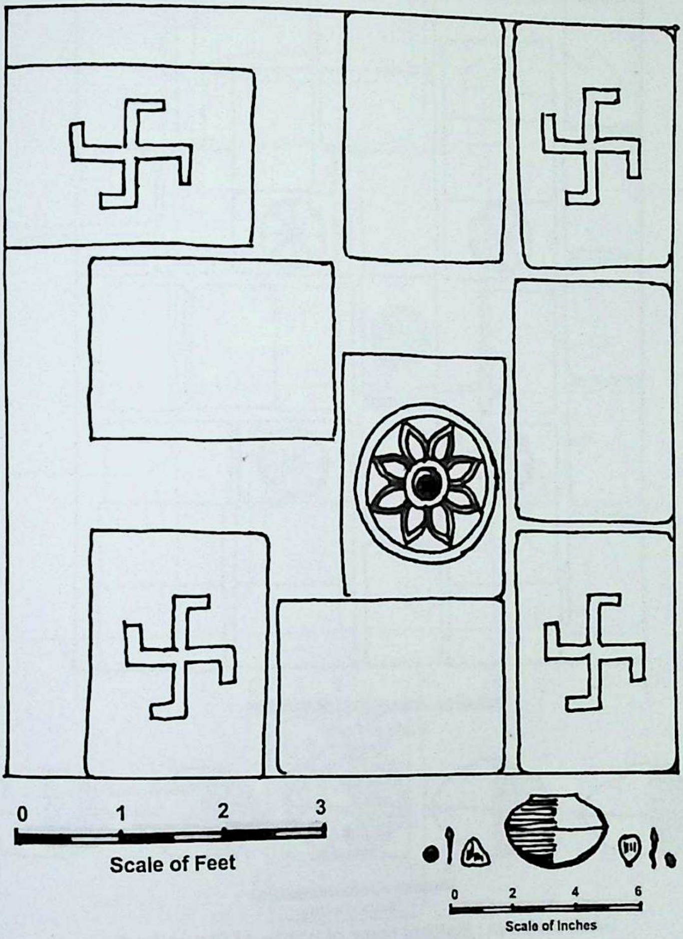
Sagrahawa, stupa and vihara

Skt. 3


0
1
2
3
Scale of Feet
SAGRAHAWA : Structure 1
0
1
2
3
Scale of Inches
Courtesy: P.C. Mukherji

Sagrahawa, stupa 1, with the relics

Skt. 4


0
1
2
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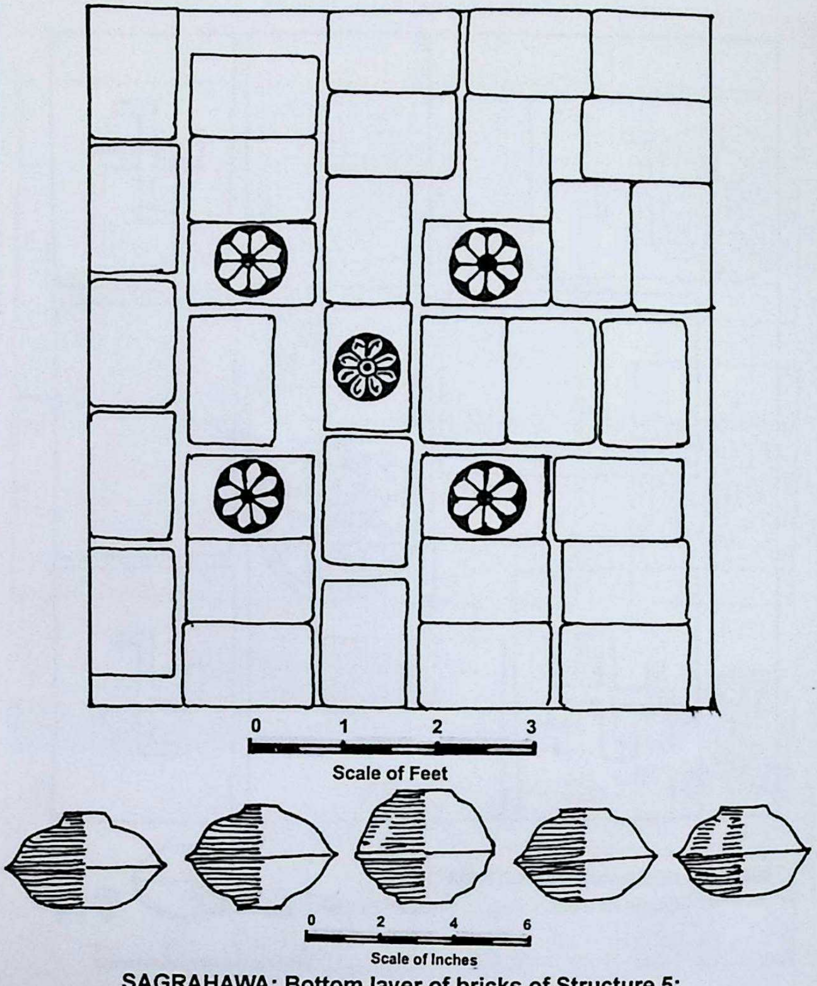
Scale of Feet
0
2
4
6
Scale of Inches

SAGRAHAWA: Bottom layer of bricks of Structure 2, vase with its contents found below the Lotus Marked Brick

Courtesy: P.C. Mukherji

Sagrahawa, stupa 2, with the relics

Skt. 5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Scale of Feet
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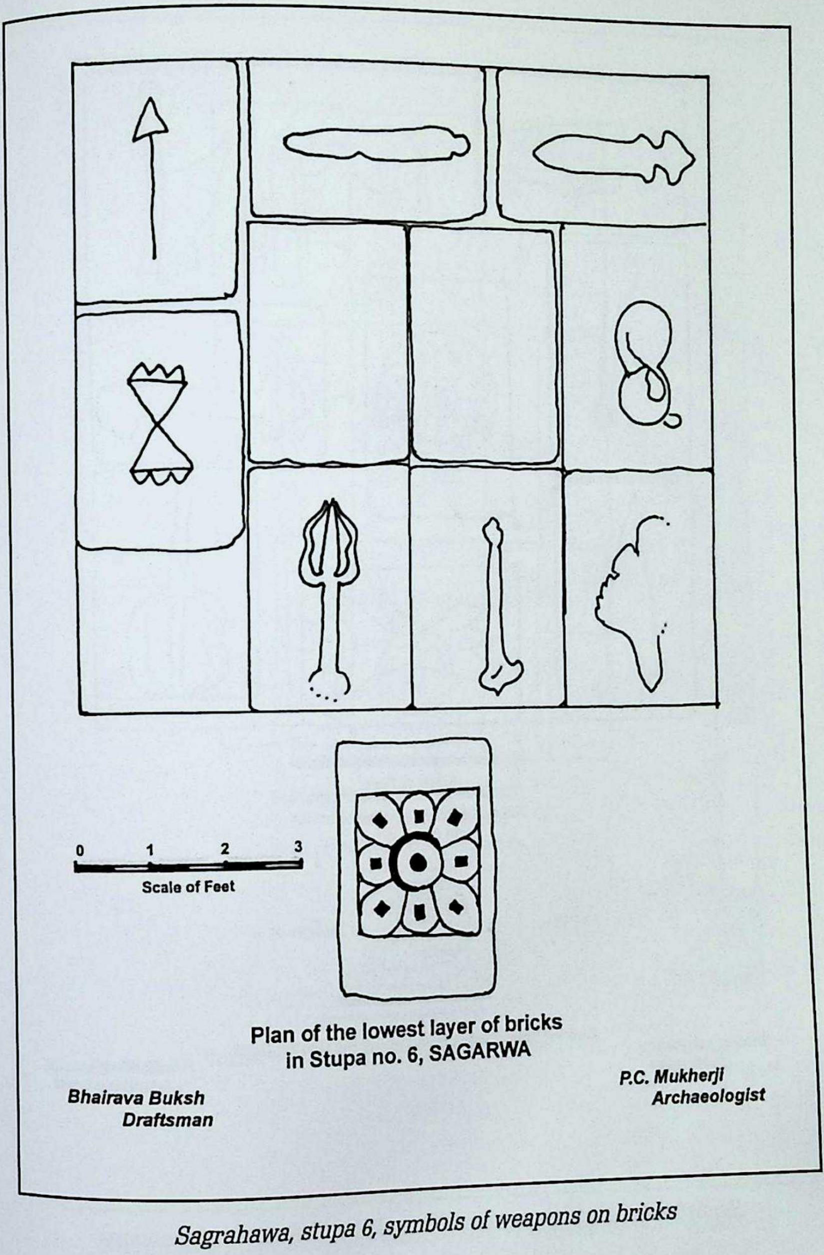
Scale of Inches

**SAGRAHAWA: Bottom layer of bricks of Structure 5;
Copper vases found below the Lotus - Carved Bricks**

Courtesy: P.C. Mukherji

Sagrahawa, stupa 5, copper vases

Skt. 6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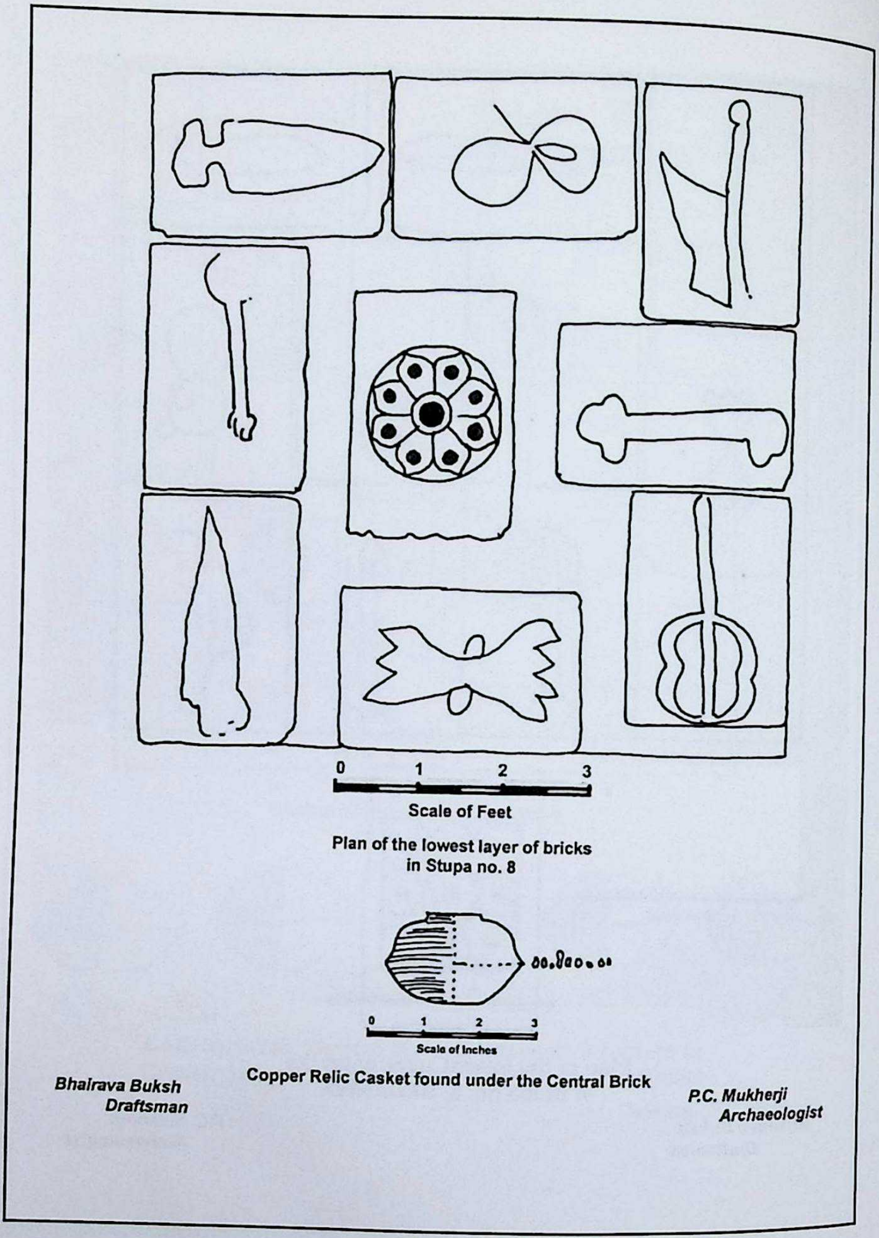
Scale of Feet
Plan of the lowest layer of bricks
in Stupa no. 6, SAGARWA
Bhairava Buksh
Draftsman
P.C. Mukherji
Archaeologist

Sagrahawa, stupa 6, symbols of weapons on bricks

Skt. 7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Scale of Feet
Plan of the lowest layer of bricks in Stupa no. 8
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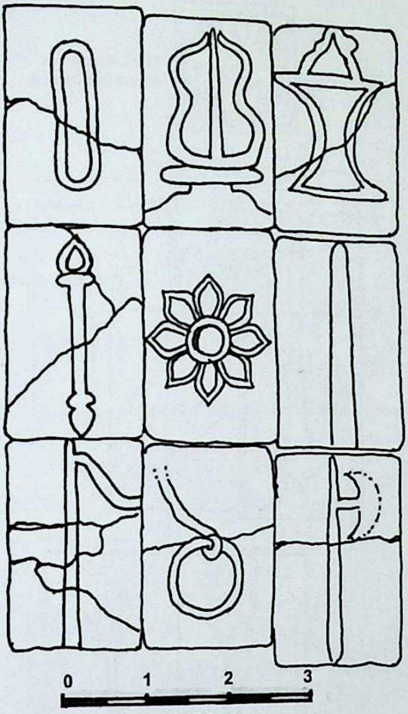
Scale of Inches
Copper Relic Casket found under the Central Brick
Bhairava Buksh
Draftsman
P.C. Mukherji
Archaeologist

Sagrahawa, stupa 8, copper relic casket and symbols of weapons

Skt. 8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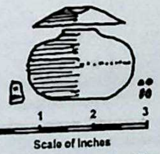
Scale of Feet

Plan of the lowest layer of bricks
in Stupa no. 9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Scale of Inches

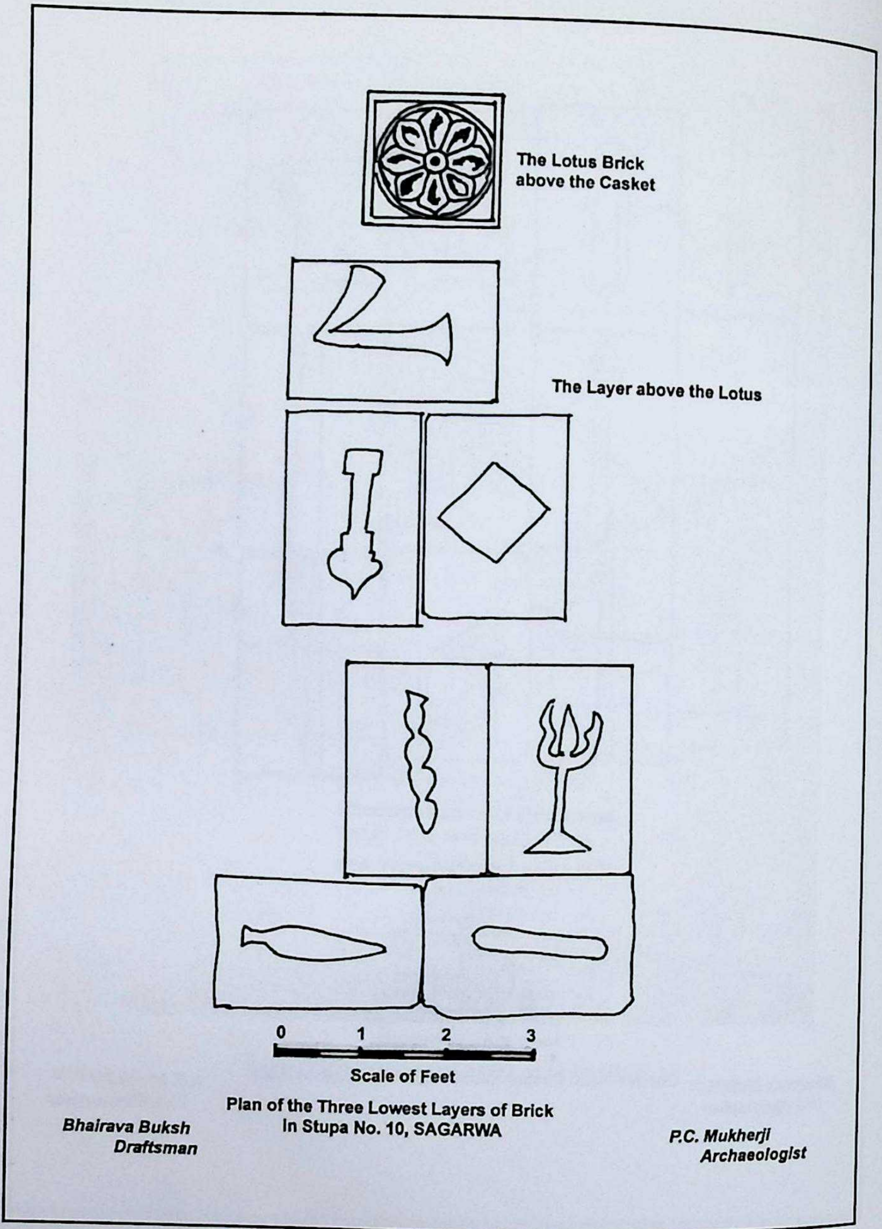
Copper Relic Casket found under the Central Brick

Bhairava Buksh
Draftsman

P.C. Mukherji
Archaeologist

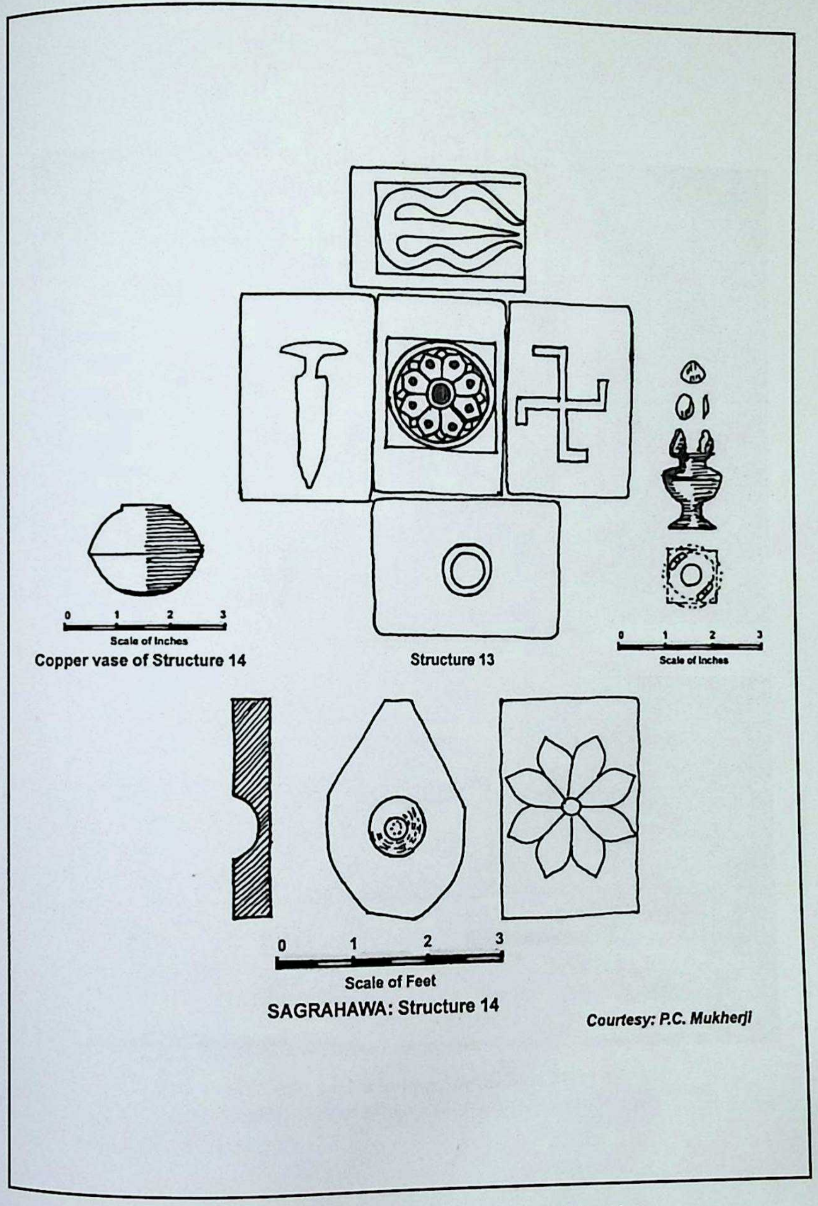
Sagrahawa, stupa 9, copper relic csaket and symbols of weapons

Skt. 9


The Lotus Brick
above the Casket
The Layer above the Lotus
0
1
2
3
Scale of Feet
Plan of the Three Lowest Layers of Brick
In Stupa No. 10, SAGARWA
Bhairava Buksh
Draftsman
P.C. Mukherji
Archaeologist

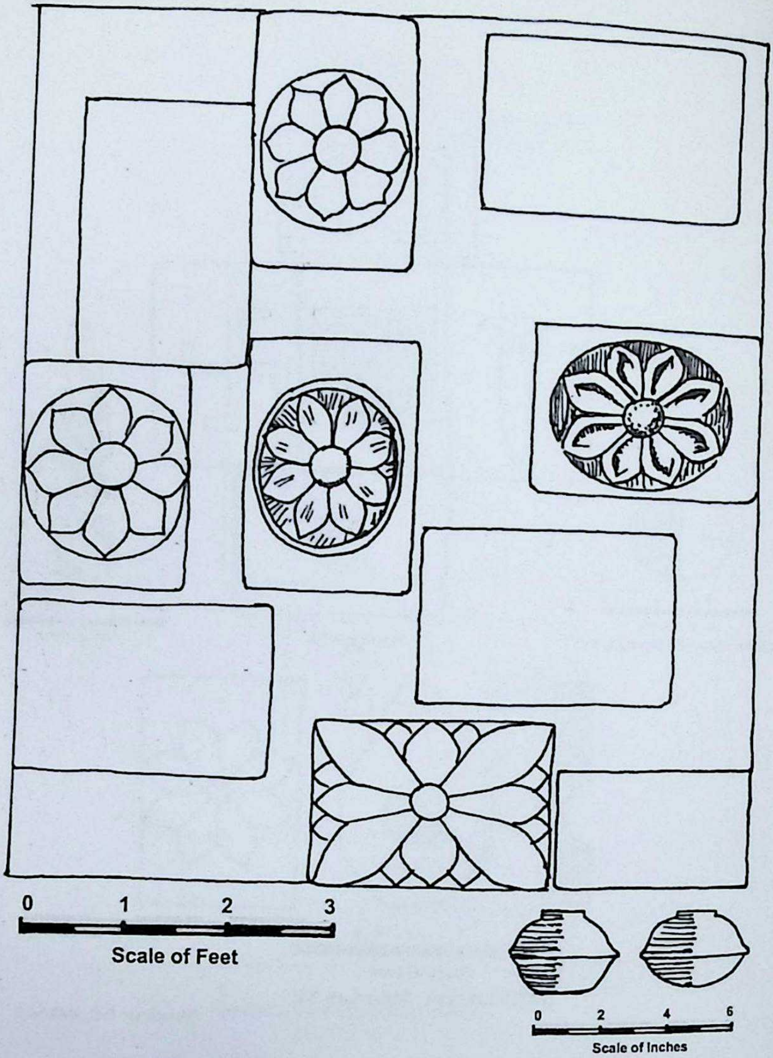
Sagrahawa, stupa 10, lotus brick above the casket and symbol of weapons

Skt. 10


0 1 2 3
Scale of Inches
Copper vase of Structure 14
Structure 13
0 1 2 3
Scale of Inches
0 1 2 3
Scale of Feet
SAGRAHAWA: Structure 14
Courtesy: P.C. Mukherji

Sagrahawa, stupa 14, casket, relics and symbols of weapons

Skt. 11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Scale of Inches

SAGRAHAWA: Bottom Layer of Bricks of Structure 15, two of the Vases found below the Lotus Carved Bricks

Courtesy: P.C. Mukherji

Sagrahawa, lotuses above the caskets

CHAPTER 5

KAPILAVASTU

(The Ancient Sakya Kingdom, Part 1)

The site:

The historical and archaeological site of present-day Tilaurakot (lat. 27° 34′ 30″ N long. 83° 3′ 30″ E) is located three kilometres north of Taulihawa, the district headquarters in the central part of the Nepalese Tarai of Kapilavastu district. It was the capital city of the ancient Kapilavastu kingdom. The name Kapilavastu refers to the kingdom as well as for the capital. The present archaeological mound of Tilaurakot (*kot* = mound or fortified area) is about 28 kilometres west of Lumbini. A blacktopped road connects Lumbini and Kapilavastu throughout the year.

The environment:

Tilaurakot lies to the north-east of the Taulihawa-Gorusinghe road. It is about 500 metres to the north of the Kapilavastu site museum. Surrounded on the north, east and south by agricultural fields and the mound with its dense jungle, it is almost like a forest.

Close to the west of the western gate and fortification wall there is a small village called Sivagarh. The village consists of about fifteen to twenty families of different faiths who mostly depend on agriculture.

Less than 500 metres west of the site is the rain-fed Banganga River. This river originates in the Churia (Siwalik) Range and merges with the Burhi Rapti into the Bilar, which flows into the Rapti, a tributary of the Ganga (Ghagra or Ghaghara).

Many important archaeological sites envelop Tilaurakot. Just about 500 metres north, there are two stupas commonly known as Twin Stupas (or Jodi Stupa in Nepali). They are situated in the village called Dhamnihawa. About two and half kilometres to the north of Twin Stupas lies the "place where the Sakyas were massacred" known as Sagrahawa.The native place of the

Kanakamuni Buddha, known as Niglihawa, lies about three kilometres north-east of Tilaurakot. Gotihawa, another important archaeological site, lies about seven kilometres to the south-west of it, while Dhohani, a prominent archaeological mound, is just two kilometres south. Chattra-dei is a fortified mound to the west of the site across the river Banganga. All these sites are within a radius of about seven kilometres. These surrounding archaeological sites demonstrate the importance of Tilaurakot in ancient times.

The name:

The earliest Buddhist literary sources mention that the name of Kapilavastu was named after the sage Kapila. According to this literature, the children banished from the Kosala kingdom established the city, which later developed into a kingdom of its own. By the 8th-7th centuries B.C. it was one of the prosperous kingdoms north of the Ganges. Popularly it was called the Sakya kingdom, ruled as it was by the Sakya dynasty. Malalasekera (1983) notes concerning its name, "Certain northern books have called the city of Kapilavastu either Kapilapura or Kapilavhaya-pura. The *Buddha-Charita* of Asvaghosha calls it Kapilasyavastu" (Malalasekera, 519: 1983).

Establishment of the kingdom:

The earliest available Buddhist legendary traditions variously narrate the origin of the Sakyas and Koliyas and the establishment of their kingdoms. According to the *Lalita-vistara*, Mahasammat was the Kshetriya king of Saketa (capital of the Kosala kingdom). As was the custom, the succession of kingship was from father to son, in the chronology shown below, until the death of Mandhata, who, having died sonless, was succeeded by his grandson from his daughter, and his son Sujata in turn succeeded him.

Mahasammat
|
Kalyan Rochavida
|
Rawa
|
Uposatha
|
Mandhata
|
Grandson of Mandhata
|
Sujata

Buddhaghosa mentions that King Sujata had four sons, named Okkamukha (Ulkamukha), Karkanda, Hathinika and Sinipura, and five daughters, Piya, Supriya, Ananda, Vijita and Vijitasena. Another tradition has it that King Sujata and his queen Shobhavati had five sons named Opura, Nipura, Karkanda, Ulkamukha and Hastikashirsha, and five daughters named Sudha, Vimata, Vijita, Jita and Jali.

Apart from the children already mentioned, King Sujata had another son named Jayanta, from his kept wife Jayanti.

Jayanti, wanting to crown her son Jayanta, succeeded in influencing the king to banish Queen Shobhavati along with all her children from the kingdom. The exiles all left the Kosala kingdom and went northwards and reached the sal (*Shorea robusta*) forest at the foothills of the Himalayas, where they met the sage Kapila.

The *Ambatha Sutta* in the *Dhigha-Nikaya* narrates a slightly different story. This story tells of The Buddha saying:

O Ambatha, long ago King Okkaka, in order to hand over his kingdom to his son from his beloved wife, banished the princes Okkamukha, Karkanda, Hathinika and Sinipura and the princesses from the elder queen. After banishment they settled down in a forest of *saka* trees on the slope of the Himalayas by the side of a lotus pool. For fear of polluting their caste, they consorted with their sisters. Sometime later when King Okkaka inquired from his ministers the whereabouts of his banished children, they replied, "There is, O King, on the slope of the Himalayas, by the banks of a lotus pool. They now dwell in a big *saka* grove and being apprehensive of polluting their caste, they have taken their sisters as their wives." King Okkaka on hearing this uttered with emotion, "Sakya-vata-bho-kumara-param-sakya-vata-bho-kumara" (The princes are truly able Sakyas). Thereafter they were known as Sakyas, and Okkaka became the progenitor of the Sakya race. The word Sakya may mean "of or belonging to the *saka* tree" (Pradhan, 7-8: 1979).

The *saka* is the tree known at present as sal (*Shorea robusta*); it is not teak (Thomas, 7: 1952).

According to some scholars, the Sakya race is derived from the name of the town Saketa, where they believe that the princes were from.

B.L Pradhan, basing himself on Asvaghosha's epic *Saundarananda*, narrates this story in another form. Some Ikshvaku princes came, with a desire of settling down, to the hermitage where the sage Kapila Gautama was practising penances. The site they chose was covered with saka trees, and this is why these Ikshvaku princes came to be known in this world as Sakyas. Their preceptor being the sage Kapila Gautama (Gautama is the *gotra* "clan name"), they too came to be named Gautama. Kapila marked a spot in the forest and told the prince to build a new city within the area after his death. The Ikshvaku princes accordingly founded a city at the hermitage of the sage Kapila, for which reason it was named Kapilavastu.

Pradhan further recounts Buddhaghosha's narration of this subject:
King Ikshvaku had five queens named Bhritta, Chitta, Jayanti, Jalini and Vishaka. The senior queen had four sons named Okkamukha, Karkanda, Hathinika and Sinipura, and five daughters named Piya, Supiya, Ananda, Vijita and Vijitasena. After the death of the senior queen the king married again and made his new wife the principal queen. The new queen, in order to enthrone her own son Jayantu, influenced the king to banish his nine children from the kingdom. The princes and princesses after banishment are said to have wandered northward towards the foot of the Himalayas at about the same time Kapila Brahmin was practising penance at a sal forest on the slopes of the Himalayas beside a lotus pool. Upon his suggestion the banished princes cleared the *saka* forest and built a city and named it Kapilavastu after the name of the sage Kapila. Not wanting to lower their caste, the four princes and princesses lived as four couples, with the eldest sister taking the role of the mother" (Pradhan, 8: 1979).

Malalasekera, basing himself on the various Buddhist literatures, also concludes that the nine children of King Okkaka, banished by him with the aim of giving the kingdom to Jantukumara, his son from another queen, travelled towards Himavat where they found Kapilavastu and lived there. The eldest sister was given the status of a mother, and the others married among themselves (Malalasekera, 970: 1983).

As stated in the *Suttanipata*, the Sakyas were Kshetriya of the solar race. In the Pali *Tripitakas*, too, Sakyamuni Buddha is called *aditya bandu* (belonging to or born in the solar line). According to Buddhaghosa Gautama was the clan name of prince Siddhartha (Siddhartha Gautama). Some scholars believe that the Sakyas adopted it from the title of Kapilamuni.

The *Sumangalavilasini* (Buddhaghosa's narration of the *Digha-Nikaya*) contains the story of the origin of the Koliya race and their relations with the Sakyas.

Priya, the eldest sister of the exiled princesses (the one who became the queen mother), in course of time contracted leprosy, and was compelled to leave the town and live in a cave in the forest. Coincidentally the king of Varanasi, Rama by name, also suffered from the same disease and came to live in the same forest, where he had been fortunately cured by sitting under a kolan tree (*Nauclea cordifolia*). As if by accident both of them met, and the princess complied with King Rama's suggestion to sit under the kolan tree, and was cured of her disease. They married and had thirty-two sons.

Together they established a city in the forest that came to be known as Kolanagara or Koliyapura, and also as Vyaghrapura or Vyagrapatha, since it was founded on a tiger track. Nowadays it is known as Devadaha or Devahrada, meaning the "water tank of the gods." The descendants were known as the Koliyas.

Boundaries of the Kapilavastu kingdom:

The Sakya territory was bordered on the north by the Himalayas, on the east by the river Rohini, and on the west and south by the river Rapti (the ancient Acchiravati). The Sakyas claimed to belong to the solar (*aditya*) race and Ikshvaku family (Raychaudhuri, 117: 1927).

However, according to some Buddhist texts, the Sakya territory was bordered on the north by the Himalayas, on the east by the river Rohini, on the west by the river Rapti and on the south by Pava and Kushinagar. Here the Himalayas means probably not up to the snow peaks but somewhere to the middle hilly regions or Churia ('Siwalik') Range. If we consider the Churia Range to the north and the river Rohini to the east (if it is indeed the same river Rohini which is flowing eight kilometres to the east of modern Butwal, 44 kilometres north of Lumbini), then the Kapilavastu kingdom extended about 250 to 300 kilometres in radius.

The distances given from other places can determine the general position of Kapilavastu: 60 yojana (450 miles) from Rajgriha, 50 yojana (375 miles) from Vaisali, and 6/7 yojana (50 or 60 miles) from Sravasti. The major towns mentioned in the most ancient texts are Catuma, Samagama, Khomadussa, Silavati, Metalupa, Ulumpa, Sakkara and Devadaha (Rhys Davids, 17-18: 1971).

Occupations of the Sakyas:

The Sakya community consisted of carpenters, smiths and potters. They were artists and persons of certain special trades of a higher standing, having their own villages. However, they also depended upon agriculture, and subsisted on the products of their rice fields and cattle. The community included Brahmins, whose services were requested at every domestic event. Khomadussa, for instance, was a Brahmin settlement. The cattle belonged to several of the householders in the village. The fields were all cultivated at the same time, the irrigation channels being laid by the community and the supply of water regulated under the supervision of the headman. Fields were divided into plots corresponding in number to that of the roads and houses in the village, and each family took its share of produce. The village headman had to keep the road in shape and provide food during the visit of royal persons or high officials. The *Jataka* stories mention that the villagers always united of their own accord for the construction or mending of moat-halls, rest-houses, reservoirs, roads, parks and the like (Davids, 44-49: 1971).

On the basis of the *Jatakas*, Rhys Davids (1971) listed eighteen guilds of labourers who were employed in the palaces or on the outside. They are: (1) woodworkers, (2) smiths, (3) stoneworkers, (4) weavers, (5) leatherworkers, (6) potters, (7) ivory workers, (8) dyers, (9) jewellers, (10) fishermen, (11) butchers, (12) cooks and confectioners, (13) hunters and trappers, (14) barbers and shampooers, (15) garland-makers and flower-sellers, (16) sailors, (17) rush-workers and basket-makers and (18) painters (Davids, 90-96: 1971).

Merchants transported their goods in boats on the river Banganga or across land in carts, for example on caravans along the Uttarapatha.

Such caravans consisted of long lines of small two-wheeled carts drawn by bullocks, and were a distinctive feature of the time.

The kingdom of Kapilavastu along the Uttarapatha: Many Buddhist accounts support the notion of Kapilavastu lying along an ancient trade route. Indian literature, both Buddhist and Brahmanical divides India into five traditional zones:

1. The Eastern Country, east of Varanasi.
2. The Western Country, west of Devasabha (not yet identified).
3. The Northern Country or the Uttarapatha, north of Prithudaka (modern Pehoa, about 14 miles west of Thaneswar).
4. The Southern Country or Dakshinapatha or Deccan, south of the Mahismati and
5. The Antravedi in the tract of land between Vinasana and Prayaga at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges.

The Uttarapatha, also known as the Northern High Road, was originally a great trade route extending from Sravasti to Takshasila in Gandhara. In Pali literature the word signified in its broader geographical sense entire northern India from Anga in the east to Gandhara in the north-west and from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyas in the south (Law, 49: 1979).

The eastern section of this northern trade route passes through the main Sakyan centres (Kapilavastu and Setavya) and the Malla kingdoms of Kusinara and Pava, Bhoganagar, Vaisali (modern Basarh; then the chief town of the Lichhavis) and Rajgir (Kosambi, 112: 1981).

The boundaries of the Uttarapatha have not been mentioned in the Buddhist literature. Originally it was explained as the trade route linking Rajgriha and Sravasti to Gandhara. The Dakshinapatha and Uttarapatha are the names of the trade routes passing respectively from north to south and north to north-west (Baruva, 218-220: 1929).

According to the *Jataka* stories the traders used to go to Takshasila, the capital city of Gandhara, after crossing a desert and the Ganga and Yamuna. The towns of Varanasi, Ujjayana, Videha, Kashmir, Varanasi and Sravasti, Varanasi and Chedi, Rajgriha and Sravasti and twenty other neighbouring towns had trade relationships. The Rajgriha-to-Sravasti road was a very famous trade route during the Buddha's time. The places falling in between were Kapilavastu, Kusinara, Pava, Bhoganagar, Jambugama, Ambagama, Hatthigama, Bhandagama, Vaisali, Nadika, Kotigama, Pataliputra, Nalanda and Rajgriha (Upadhyaya, 537-540: 2018 B.S).

Many verses of the *Sutta-Nipata* mention the names of places where travellers rested during their long journey. The following towns falling between Sravasti and Rajgriha were said to be the most comfortable places for a night's stay: Sravasti, Setavya, Kapilavastu, Lumbini, Kusinara, Pava, Bhoganagar, Vaisali and Rajgriha. The *Papancha-sudini* also mentions similar towns and villages renowned for leisure, including Kapilavastu and Lumbini.

According to Malalasekera, the Uttarapatha is the northern division of Jambudipa. It has been suggested that the Uttarapatha was originally the name of the great trade route, and that it lent its name to the region through which it passed, as did the Dakshinapatha. If this is so, the name would practically include the whole of northern India from Anga in the east to Gandhara in the north-west, and from the Himalaya in the north to the Vindhya in the south (Malalasekera, 63:1988). (Skt. 1)

Ancestors of the The Buddha:

Ulkamukha, the eldest of the banished princes, became the first head of Kapilavastu, which in due course turned into a prosperous state. Jayasena, his son and the great-grandfather of the The Buddha, succeeded. During the period King Jayasena ruled the kingdom of Kapilavastu, King Aukaka was ruling the neighboring state of Devadaha.

King Jayasena had a son named Singhahanu and a daughter named Jasodhara, while King Aukaka had a son named Anjana and daughter named Kancana. As Kapilavastu and Devadaha bordered on each other, there developed matrimonial relations between the royal families of the two kingdoms relations which were to lead to the birth of the Buddha.

Mukherji (1969) in his excavation report on Tilaurakot provides in a nutshell, the life of the The Buddha and the conditions prevailing in Kapilavastu during and after the King Suddhodana's kingship. Some of the relevant portions from his report are presented in the following:

Period of Suddhodana:

Suddhodana was born of Kancana, the sister of Anjana, who had two sons, Suprabuddha and Dandapani, and two daughters, Mayadevi and Prajapati. Kaladevala, the chief counselor of Singhahanu, taught Suddhodana in the sciences. Anjana married his two daughters to Suddhodana. Shortly after his marriage, his father, Singhahanu, died, and Suddhodana became king of Kapilavastu. He, with his amiable wife, Mayadevi observed the five precepts and ten royal duties. According to a Chinese version, Mahanama Vasishtha was his chief minister. His palace at Kapilavastu, called Dhartarashta according to the *Lalita-vistara*, had a pavilion, doors, gates, windows, rooms, towers, and temples, as also extensive inner apartments, and furnished with musical instruments. The king also improved the town with many tanks, roads, squares, crossings, markets, highways, and temples. Jewels appeared pendent under networks over towers, palaces, and gateways, while cloths of various colours were suspended from trees (p. 7-8).

Conception of Siddhartha:

It was the month of Ashara, when the Sakyas were celebrating a festival, and Mayadevi was observing the fast of the gods, that the future Buddha was conceived. After ten months, Maya expressed a wish to the king to visit her parents at Devadaha. According to another account, her father, Anjana, brought her for the purpose of delivery; as is generally the custom even now in Hindu households. The road between the two towns was made level, strewed with clean sand; plantain trees were planted on each side; and water vessels were placed at regular intervals. The queen was conveyed in a gilt litter to a garden of *sala* trees, Lumbini-vanas, which was between the two towns, and which her father had constructed for her mother and named after her. A Chinese version says that it was called after the name of the wife of the chief minister Suprabuddha. The inhabitants of both Kapilavastu and Devadaha used to resort here for recreation. Seeing the trees in flower, she alighted here, and being helped by her sister, Prajapati, she rose and held the branch of a *sal* tree, when the pain of delivery suddenly came over her; and a curtain was hurriedly disposed round her. The future Buddha - "the mighty Narayana" - was then born, 12 years after Suddhodana's marriage with Mayadevi, amidst the rejoicings of all, on Tuesday, full moon, in the month of Vaisakha, when the Nakshatra was Wisa in B.C. 623 (p. 8).

His name and astrology:

Mayadevi having died seven days after her confinement, the Bodhisattva with his stepmother was brought back to Kapilavastu in a great procession. On the way there too was a great temple, where were the images of Siva, Skandha, Narayana, Vaisravana, Sakra, Kuvera, Chandra, Surya, Brahma and the Dikpala. There he was taken in a chariot, well embellished in the inner apartments, according to the custom of the Sakyas to seek blessing from the gods. And a few days after a great festival was held to give a name to the young prince. Siddhartha was the name chosen; and the eight chief astrologers proclaimed that he would be either a *chakravarti* (Universal Monarch) or a Buddha. But Kaladevala, otherwise known as Asita, who was the prime minister of his grandfather and had retired to devote the rest of his life to religious meditation, living in a garden near the town or in the mountain Kiskindha or Sarvadhara in the Sakya country, foresaw that he would certainly attain Buddhahood (p. 8-9).

Ploughing and festival:
Five months after the birth of Siddhartha a festival was held, when it was the custom of the Sakyas to cultivate the fields, the king himself leading the way, holding a golden plough. On this occasion, Siddhartha, though quite a child, sat in meditation under a *jambu* tree (jamun or black plum, *Syzygium cumini*) (p. 9).

Erection of three palaces:
In his seventh year, a magnificent bath was constructed; and in his 12th, the king ordered the building of three palaces, called Ramma, Suramma, and Subha, suited to the three seasons of the year. They were of the same height, though the first was of nine storeys, the second of seven, and the third of five. And on all sides, guards were placed extending to the distance of four miles, that no signs of evil import would catch the sight of the prince. The *Lalita-vistara* describes the palace as handsome, four-sided and four-cornered, with a pavilion on its top, which showed like a thing made by a skilful goldsmith. Within the first pavilion was a jeweled one, which was made of *ugrasara* sandalwood, within which was a third, where the bedstead was placed (p. 9).

His education at school in writing and reading:
Infant Bodhisattva was sent to the school to learn, under Visvamitra, writing on a tablet of *ugrasara* wood, like the *takhti* of the present day, in excellent ink with a golden pen mounted with jewels. He learnt 64 kinds of alphabets, including *Brahmi* and *Kharoshti,* and the letters of Banga, Anga, and Magadha are mentioned. He excelled not only in writing, but also in reading the *Vedas, Nigamas, Puranas, Itihasas*, 18 *Silpas*, and many other sciences; and in exercises and archery, such as shooting at the target of an iron boar beyond seven *palm* trees. Rockhill in his *Life of the Buddha* mentions that Siddhartha learned letters under Kausika, management of elephants under his uncle Sulabha, and archery under Sakadeva (p. 9).

Tournament and his excelling all Sakya youth: Siddhartha was married to Yasodhara or Gopa, the daughter of Suprabuddha (or Dandapani according to the *Lalita-vistara*) and Amita of Devadaha at the age of 16. And now his palace was described (*Lalita-vistara*) as furnished with covered terraces, balconies, gateways, windows, halls, and pavilions ornamented with bells, jewels, parasols, and flags, pendents, and silken fabrics. His rooms were provided with stairs, decorated with silken carpets, with delightful floors, blue as lapis-lazuli, and with wide and excellent corridors, having birds and flowers; also musical instruments, such as conch, trumpet, drum, etc. Before marriage, he was tested in his Kshetriya accomplishments in a tournament, which was proclaimed by the ringing of bells at Kapilavastu (*Lalita-vistara*). Gopa, who was accomplished in writing and composing poetry and well versed in the rules of *Sutras,* planted a flag victory in the arena. In an immense pavilion erected in the court of the palace, Siddhartha showed his skill in wielding a bow, which nobody else could hold up, the arrow of which when shot, went, according to a legendary account, some 10 *krosa* beyond, where it pierced the earth, making a well, since known as Sara-kupa ('arrow-well'). Bodhisattava, who was compared to Krishna (*Lalita-vistara*), excelled all the Sakya youths in the tournament; after which he threw a dead elephant at a deep hollow, known to this day as Hastigarta, two miles beyond the seven walls and moats of the city (*Lalita-vistara*) (p.9-10).

His marriage, home-life and indifference: After his marriage, which was celebrated with great éclat, Siddhartha was appointed *yuvaraj* ('sub-king') and the governor or chief magistrate of a neighbouring town, Kalishaka (Chinese), where he does not appear to have lived much, for he was confined to his palacelife, because Suddhodana was very much afraid lest he would renounce the secular life and the chance of attaining universal sovereignty. As Siddhartha grew in years, and rolled in the luxury of a married life, his distaste was distinctly shown, and flying from palacelife, he used to retire in the evening to a garden, which was his favourite resort, and after bathing in a magnificent tank, to sit on a well-polished stone under a large tree for contemplation. This park is called Lutiloka in a Chinese record from the name of the presiding deity. In order to prevent him, the king built high walls round the palace, excavated a broad moat, hung massive doors mounted on machines and chains, at the four main gates of the town, where extra guards were stationed. But Bodhisattva having seen the four scenes of an old leper, a dead man, sick man and a monk, while going out of the city for a drive to his garden and thus being impressed with the impermanence of worldly life, effected the great Renouncement, ('Mahabhiniskramana'), in the midnight of Monday, full moon and constellation, when he was 29 years old (p. 10).

His great renouncement:

Leaving his wife and his baby son, Rahula, and descending from his room, he proceeded to the palace of music, lowered the jewelled lattice and getting on a horse by name Kantaka, departed by the East gate, called Mangaladwara ('lucky gate'), beyond which he tarried a little to look at the city, where subsequently a stupa was erected, called Kantaka's Return. The whole night he rode, reaching in the morning Anupiya on the other side of a great sandy river, Anoma (Gandaki?), and in the country of the Mallas, 12 *yojanas* distant from Kapilavastu. Here he halted in the hermitage of Pokarishi, or Bhargavides (p. 10-11).

His attainment of Buddhahood and return to Kapilavastu:

After the attainment of Bodhi ('emancipation') at Uruvilva, near Gaya, six years after, the Buddha was invited by his father to visit Kapilavastu. He came from Rajgir, which he had entered on the full moon of January with his disciples in the first year of his ministry and in the month of March after the cold season was over, and five months after he had left Benares, where he first preached his doctrines. The distance between Rajgriha and Kapilavastu being 60 y*ojanas*, Buddha leisurely travelled in 60 days. He halted in the grove of Nigrodha, which was a short distance from the town, and which his father dedicated to him and his church. Next day Buddha with his disciples perambulated the streets and begged for food from house to house. The citizens seeing this unusual sight from the different storeys of their houses *(attali)* were amazed. On this, Raja Suddhodana came out and took him to the palace, fed him in the upper room, and was converted on hearing his sermon (p. 11).

Sakya princes become his disciples:

The crown prince, Nanda, his younger brother, and the son of his stepmother, became his disciple on the very day he was to be made sub-king and married and renounced a beautiful princess, crown, and kingdom. Buddha's son, Rahula, then eight years old, also walked in the footsteps of his father; and several citizens followed the example, led by his relatives, Ananda, Anuruddha, and others. The king was mortified to see so many of his family entering the ascetic order, he being left without an heir to his throne. He pathetically protested against this wholesale conversion of his race; and the Buddha was prevailed upon not to initiate any more of the Sakya youths without their parents' consent. The Buddha returned to Rajgriha via Anupiya in the country of the Mallas, where Devadatta and other Sakyas with the barber Upali at their head entered his order (p. 11).

Buddha pacifies the Sakyas and Koliyans:

At a time of unusual drought, an embankment shut in the water of the Rohini for the purposes of irrigation; and both the Sakyas and the Koliyans exclusively claimed it. Hot words passed between the cultivators of the two sides; and soldiers and princes gathered together to support their parties. A battle was imminent, when the Buddha, then at Vaisali, was informed of it. He came in his 4th *vas* (monsoon retreat) and pacified the combatants; and thus peace was restored. Buddha converted 500 people on this occasion (p. 11).

Attends his father's death:

In the middle of the *vas,* that is, the month of August, the Buddha, while sojourning in Mahavana monastery near Vaisali, heard that his father was dangerously ill. He instantly went to Kapilavastu, and attended the last moments of Suddhodana, who was greatly comforted. He breathed his last on the day of the full moon of Sravana (August), on a Saturday at the rising of the sun, at the age of 97 years. The corpse was carried processionally through the principal streets; and the Buddha cremated it on the funeral pile (11-12).

Sakya ladies become nuns:

Prajapati, his stepmother, Yasodhara, his wife, and 500 Sakya females at this time three times asked the Buddha for his permission to enter his order, but he refused. The Buddha then retired from Nigrodha to Vaisali, the distance of which was 51 *yojanas.* There the Sakya and Koliya ladies, who had seldom descended from the upper storeys of their palaces, and who were accustomed to walk on floors made so smooth that they looked like mirrors and reflected the images near them, followed him on foot. The soft heart of Ananda, now the constant attendant of the saint, was moved, and he interceded on their behalf. The Buddha at last gave permission for their entering the order; though he observed that admittance of women would not make his institutions last long. In his 8th *vas,* the Buddha retreated from Sravasti to Sansumara-giri (Crocodile Hill) in the deer park of Bhesakala forest in the Bharga country (or Yaska Bhayankera or Vegga in Pali), which was near Kapilavastu. Here Prince Bodhi had erected a new palace, called Kakanada; where he invited the Buddha to take his meal, and was converted on hearing his doctrines (p. 12).

Bhadraka and then Mahanama succeed to the Sakya throne:

In the 14th year of his ministry the Buddha visited his native town, when Mahanama who had succeeded Bhadraka or Bhaddya, the successor of Suddhodana, became his disciple. He sojourned in the Nigrodha monastery, situated close to the banks of the river

Rohini. Among his relatives, Suprabuddha, his father-in-law and maternal uncle, became now his open enemy; and Devadatta, his son, called the son of Godhi, deserted his master, and founded a new sect at Rajgriha under the patronage of Ajatasatru (p. 12).

King Prasenajit of Sravasti marries an adopted daughter of Mahanama, and has a son Virudhaka:

The kingdom of Kapilavastu now appeared to be subordinate to that of Kosala and Kasi. According to the northern version, Mallika was the daughter of the Brahman steward of Mahanama. On the death of her father, the Raja adopted her as his own daughter. She was employed to make garlands of flowers. One day Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, while on a hunting expedition, or as some say while flying after his defeat by Ajatasatru, came to Mahanama's garden, and saw her plucking flowers. For her thoughtful kindness which removed his fatigue, the king asked her from Mahanama, who said that she was a slave girl and that he couldn give Sakya girls better than she. But the king wanted her; and so the lord of Kapilavastu sent her, who was made queen. In course of time she had a son whom the king named Virudhaka. One day Virudhaka went to Kapilavastu and halted at the Santhagara, the new assembly hall. It was a large and solid structure with stone pavements, and furnished with pillars, and was erected for the receptions and preaching of the Buddha. The Sakyas expelled him, because of his low origin. The young prince thereupon vowed vengeance (p. 12-13).

Virudhaka usurps the throne:

Shortly after, Virudhaka usurped the throne of Sravasti, and his father fled to Rajgir to ask the help of Ajatasatru, his sister's son, and to recover his kingdom. But on reaching the city he died of cholera (p. 13).

Attacks the Sakya capital:

Now Virudhaka, remembering his vow, invaded the Sakya country; but the Buddha, then at Sravasti, interceded. The young king returned; but again he issued forth with his fourfold army, and attacked Kapilavastu; but the Sakyas fought bravely and repulsed him. At last he prevailed and entered the town at the time of a truce, and began massacring the inhabitants and washing the stone-slabs of the Santhagara hall with their blood, exception being made of the family of Mahanama, the king, who, however, drowned himself in a tank (p. 13).

Massacres the citizens and sacks the city:

The Sakyas who could save themselves fled in different directions - some to Nepal, some to Rajgriha and Vaisali, some to Vedi, where Asoka long after married the daughter of Sresthi, who gave birth to Mahindra and Samghamitra; and others fled to Pippalivana, where the Sakyas were afterwards known as Mauryas. Virudhaka and Ambarisha, his minister, were burnt to death, a few days after the destruction of Kapilavastu (p. 13).

Ajatasatru of Rajgriha conquers Kapilavastu:

Ajatasatru, the king of Magadha, who was entertaining ambitious designs over the neighbouring kingdoms, invaded the country and conquered both Kosala and Kapilavastu in the 44th year after the attainment of Buddhahood (p. 13).

The state of Kapilavastu after its sack:

The story of the destruction of Kapilavastu appears to be of an old date, as reference to it is found in the *Vibhasha-lun* of Katyayanaputra and the *Avidharma* of Kaniska's council, which quote from an earlier and unknown s*utra*. When the Buddha visited the desolation of the city caused by Virudhaka's army, he was ill with a bad headache. But Ananda, who had become his constant companion, from the time when Buddha was 55 years of age, was greatly affected at seeing the city like a cemetery. The walls, houses, doors, and windows were destroyed; and the gardens, orchards, and lotus ponds were all ruined. The orphaned children followed him with piteous cries for help. Ananda was especially pained to see the mangled bodies of his countrymen, trodden by elephants in the park, near the Sow's Tank, close to the arama of the Parivrajaka Tirthikas. Some of the monks had gone to the cold districts of Nepal, where they were protecting themselves against the frost by the use of *fulo*, when Ananda visited them (p. 13).

The city not wholly destroyed:

That Kapilavastu was not, however, altogether destroyed, is proved by the fact that the giving of garments to needy brethren, the prohibition against the wearing of ornaments by the bhikshunis (nuns), and the permission to ordain boys at seven years of age are all referred to the state of affairs at Kapilavastu immediately after its destruction by Virudhaka. And many bhikshus seem to have been left uninjured (p. 13).

The Sakyas erect a stupa over the Buddha's relics:

When the Buddha died at Kusinagara in 543 B.C., the Sakyas with an army went there to claim a share of his relics. They brought one-eighth of the Buddha's s*ariras* (corporeal relics) and erected a stupa over it. Twenty years afterwards, Kasyapa, his successor and chief of the church, took away some of the relics from here and elsewhere, and collected and buried them in an underground structure at Rajgir. The Mahasanghika *Vinaya*, records a congregation of bhikshus at the Sakya city several years after the death of the Buddha, and a feud between Ananda and Rahula on account of an affair connected with a layman's children. This estrangement stopped the regular services of the church for seven years, when the aged Upali pacified the parties (p. 13-14) (Mukherji, 7-14: 1969)._

Asoka and Buddhist monuments:

After the death of the Buddha Kapilavastu became an important spot for Buddhist pilgrims near and far, a continuous flow of who came with faith and devotion, seeking peace and the purification of their minds.

The third century B.C. is landmark epoch in the history of Kapilavastu. The conversion of Emperor Asoka after the massacre and bloodshed in the devastating battle of Kalinga (present-day Orissa state of India) was a turning point in the history of Buddhism.

The patronage of a great and powerful emperor provided a strong stimulus to the spread of Buddhism. Among many other things, Emperor Asoka, in exhibition of his intense devotion to the Buddhist faith, instituted *dharma-yatras* ('state pilgrimages to hallowed Buddhist places') to replace *vihara-yatras* ('pleasure tours'). Evidence of such pilgrimages can still be seen in the inscriptions on the pillars in Lumbini, Niglihawa and Gotihawa (though the pillar in Gotihawa is now broken and its upper part with inscription missing).

Emperor Asoka took great interest in erecting memorial columns in different parts of the land and inscribed on them simple rules of morality, such as loving-kindness to man and beast, truthfulness and respect towards elders, care for the destitute and non-acquisitiveness. He is also credited with having built throughout his vast empire stupas enshrining the relics of the Buddha and with having appointed a special class of officers, called *dharmamahamatras*, to propagate righteousness among the people.

Asoka's pious activities also led to the formation of a school of art, their main concern being in propagating the Buddhist religion through artwork. The rulers who succeeded him followed his noble examples. In fact the history of Buddhism from the days of Asoka is intimately linked with that of Buddhist art (P.D., 308: 1956).

Asoka's visit to Kapilavastu:

According to Buddhist tradition, as preserved in the *Divyavadana*, Asoka started on a pilgrimage to Kapilavastu in the company of his preceptor, Upagupta. On their arrival at Lumbini, Upagupta, pointing to the tree under which the mother of the Buddha had stood while, delivering her child, said, "Oh, Maharaj! Here the Blessed One was born" (Bhattacharya, 59: 1960).

As stated in *Divyavadana*, Asoka, guided by the venerable Upagupta, made pilgrimage to various sacred places, including the tombs of the great disciples of the Buddha, successively visiting the stupas of Sariputta, Mahamaudgalyayana, Mahakasyapa, Vakkula and Ananda. Lumbini Park, the Bodhi Tree, Deer Park in Sarnath and the site of the Parinirvana are the pre-eminently sacred places where the king donated one hundred thousand suvarnas (gold coins) (Przyluski, 29-30: 1967).

To commemorate his visit to the sacred holy place of the birth of the Buddha he erected a pillar with the inscription stating:

Devanapiyena piyadasina lajina visativasabhisitena
atana agacha mahiyite hida Budhe jate Sakyamuniti
silavigadabhica kalapita silathabhe cha usapapite
hida Bhagavam jateti Lummnigame ubalike kate
athabhagiye cha (Roman script by Pandey, 39: 1962).

The translation of the inscription given above made by the Department of Archaeology, HMG/Nepal, is as follows:
King Piyadasi (Asoka) the beloved of Devas in the twentieth year of the coronation himself made a royal visit; Buddha Sakyamuni having been born here, a stone railing was built and a stone pillar erected. The Bhagavan having been born here, Lumbini village was tax-reduced and entitled to the eighth part (only).

(After the discovery of the "Marker stone", the exact location of the birthplace of the The Buddha, in the Mayadevi temple excavation, the word *silavigadabhica* for 'stone railing' of the earlier interpretations will need to be changed. Seminars have already been held on the word, and scholars have already suggested this change.)

Emperor Asoka, during his pilgrimage with Upagupta, also paid a visit to the site of the birth and Nirvana of the Kanakamuni Buddha in present-day Niglihawa. Here, too, he erected a pillar with an inscription. The inscription bears the name of Konakamana; one of the six Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha. "The fact that Asoka visited this mythical birthplace indicates that the cult of worshipping the previous Buddhas had developed by Asoka's time" (Bhattacharya, 55: 1960).

The inscription on the Niglihawa pillar, in Brahmi script and the Pali language, reads as follows:

Devana piyena piyadasina lajina-chodasavasa [bhisi] tena
Budhasa Konakamanasa thube-dutiyam vadhite
[visativa] sabhisitena-cha atana-agacha-mahiyite
[silathabe-cha usa] papite[ll]

Dr. Fuhrer has translated this with the restored letters shown within brackets as follows:
King Piyadasi, beloved of gods, having been anointed fourteen years increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Konakamana: and having been anointed [twenty years], he came himself and worshipped: [and] he caused [this stone pillar to be erected] (Fuhrer, 34: 1972).

The pillar found in the present-day village of Gotihawa bears witness to the pilgrimage of Emperor Asoka to it during his religious tour to various Buddhist sites in Kapilavastu. The pillar and recently excavated stupa are believed to be dedicated to the Krakuchhanda Buddha. The broken lower portion of the pillar rises today to a height of 14 feet 8 inches. The upper portion with the inscription broke off long ago and remains missing till this day.

Emperor Asoka's visit to these sites demonstrates the importance of Kapilavastu. It is very important to understand that three Buddhas who were born in this holy land. Emperor Asoka not only visited these places but also left memorable monuments, which will stand for generations to come.

Kapilavastu after Emperor Asoka:

The rich cultural heritage of Kapilavastu seems to have continued even after the visit of Emperor Asoka. Religious monuments, including stupas and monasteries, are the important remains bearing witness to building activities. Apart from these numerous antiquities, coins, terra-cotta objects, precious and semiprecious stone beads, bangles, metal objects, human and animal figurines and various other finds are evidence of the rich ancient cultural heritage of that period.

The Chinese pilgrims to Kapilavastu:

Samuel Beal (1996) depending on the *Records of Buddhist Countries* by Chi Fah Hian of the Sung dynasty [date 400 A.D.] describes the condition of Kapilavastu in the fifth century A.D. in the following:

Fa-hsien also called Fah Hian, when formerly resident at Tchang'an, was grieved at noticing the fragmentary character of the Rules of the Buddhist Discipline (as they were then known in China, that is *Vinaya Pitaka*). Whereupon, in the second year of Hung Chi, the cyclical characters being Ki Hae, he agreed with Hwui King, Tao Ching, Hwui Ying and Hwui Wu, to go together to India to seek for complete copies of these Rules.

Kapilavastu during Fa-hsien's visit:

Leaving the city of Sravasti, and going twelve yojans to the south-east, we arrive at a town called Na-pi-ka. This is the birthplace of Krakuchhanda Buddha. There are towers erected on the spots where the interview between father and son took place, and also where he entered Nirvana. Going north from this place less than one yojana, we arrive at a town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born; there are towers also erected here over similar places as the last.

From this spot going eastward less than a yojana we arrive at the city of Ka-wei-lo-wei (Kapilavastu). In this country there is no government or people; it is just like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people. In the place where stands the ruins of the palace of Suddhodana, there is a picture of the Prince-apparent and his mother, (supposed to be) taken at the time of his miraculous conception. The Prince is represented as descending towards his mother, riding on a white elephant.

Towers have been erected on the following spots: where the royal Prince left the city by the eastern gate, where he saw the sick man, and where he caused his chariot to turn and take him back to his palace. There are also towers erected on the following spots: at the place where the (rishi) Asita calculated the horoscope of the royal Prince; where Nanda and others struck the elephant and seized it; where the arrow going south east thirty *li*, entered the earth, from which bubbled up a fountain of water, which, in after generations, was used as a well for travellers to drink at; also on the spot where Buddha, after arriving at Supreme Wisdom, met his father, where the five hundred Sakyas having embraced the faith, paid reverence to Upali; at the place where the earth shook six times in succession; at the place where Buddha expounded the Law on behalf of all *devas*, whilst the four Heavenly Kings guarded the four gates of the hall, so that his father could not enter; at the place where Mahaprajapati presented Buddha with a Sanghati whilst he was sitting under a Nyagrodha tree, with his face to the East, which tree still exists; at the place where Virudhaka Raja killed the offspring of the Sakyas, who had previously entered on the path of Srotapanna. All these towers are still in existence.

A few *li* to the north-east of the city is the royal field where the Prince, sitting underneath a tree, watched a ploughing match. Fifty *li* to the east of the city is the royal garden called Lumbini; it was here the queen entered the bath to wash herself, and having come out on the north side, advanced twenty paces, and then holding a branch of the tree in her hand, brought forth the Prince. When born he walked seven steps; two dragon kings washed the Prince's body; the place where this occurred was afterwards converted into a well, from which the priests draw their drinking water. All the Buddhas have four places universally determined for them:

1. The place for turning the wheel of the Law;
2. The place for arriving at Supreme Wisdom;
3. The place for expounding the true principles of the Law, and refuting the heretics;
4. The place for descending to earth after going into the Triyastrinshas heaven to explain the Law to their mothers.

With respect to other places, they are chosen according to the time when the several Buddhas come into the world. The country of Kapila-vastou is now a great desert; you seldom meet any people on the roads, for they are much in dread of the white elephants and the lions (which frequent the neighbourhood), and render it impossible to travel negligently. Going east five yojanas from the place where Buddha was born, there is a country called Lan-mo [Ramagrama] (Beal, 84-89: 1996).

Kapilavastu during the visit of Yuan Chwang:

The 7th century A.D. was an important period in the history of Kapilavastu. It was in this century that the eminent Buddhist monk/ pilgrim Yuan Chwang came to Kapilavastu. (His name is spelled Yuan Chwang by Wylie, Hiouen Thsang by Julien, Huan Chwang by Mayers, Hiuen Tsiang by Beal, Hsuan Chuang by Legge, and Huen Kwan by Nanjio.) This Chinese pilgrim visited all the important Buddhist sites in India and Nepal in the 7th century A.D. He was born in 602 A.D. in Lo-Yang. When he set forth on his journey, he was only 26 years old. He set out for India secretly in 629 A.D., owing to the strained political relations prevailing with the west then, and travelled to India by the northern overland route. Yuan Chwang arrived in Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama in 636 A.D., and has left detailed descriptions of these areas.

After visiting Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama, he continued his journey to various Buddhist places and other part of the subcontinent for 16 years and went back to China in the spring of 645 A.D.

Samuel Beal (1983) basing himself on Yuan Chwang's travel account *Si-Yu-Ki Buddhist Record of the Western World* described the conditions of Kapilavastu during his visit as follows:

From this point (somewhere in Sravasti) going south-east 500 *li* or so, we come to the country of Kie-pi-lo-fa-sse-ti (Kapilavastu). This country is about 4,000 *li* in circuit. There are some ten-desert cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts within the city measure some 14 or 15 *li* round. They were all built of brick. The foundation walls are still strong and high. It has been long deserted. The peopled villages are few and wasted.

There is no supreme ruler; each of the towns appoints its own ruler. The ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to the regular season. The climate is uniform, the manners of the people soft and obliging. There are 1,000 or more ruined *sangharamas* remaining; by the side of the royal precincts there is still a *sangharama* with about 3,000 (read 30) followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya School.

There are a couple of *deva* temples, in which various sectaries worship (live). Within the royal precincts are some ruined foundation walls; these are the remains of the proper palace of Suddhodana-raja; above is built a *vihara* in which is a statue of the king. Not far from this is a ruined foundation, which represents the sleeping palace of Mahamaya, the queen. Above this they have erected a *vihara* in which is a figure of the queen.

By the side of this is a *vihara*; this is where Bodhisattva descended spiritually into the womb of his mother. There is a representation of this scene drawn in the *vihara*. The Mahasthavira school says that Bodhisattva was conceived on the 30th night of the month *U-ta-lo-an-sha-cha* (Uttarashadha). This is the 15th day of the 5th month (*with us*). The other schools fix the event on the 23rd day of the same month. This would be the 8th day of the 5th month (*with us*).

To the north-east of the palace of the spiritual conception is a stupa; this is the place where Asita the rishi prognosticated the fortune (*read the horoscope or signs of*) the royal prince. On the day when the Bodhisattva was born there was a gathering (*a succession*) of lucky indications. Then Suddhodana-raja summoned all the soothsayers, and addressing them said, "With respect to this child, what are the fortunate and what the evil (*signs*)? As it is right, so do you clearly answer me?" In reply they said, "According to the record of the former saints the signs are especially fortunate. If he remains in secular life he will be a Chakravartin monarch; if he leaves his home he will become a Buddha."

At this time the rishi Asita, coming from afar, stood before the door, and requested to see the king. The king, overjoyed, went forth to meet and reverence him, and requested him to be seated on a precious chair; then addressing him he said, "It is not without an object that the Great Rishi has condescended to visit me this day." The rishi said, "I was quietly resting (*or*, observing the summer rest) in the palace of the *Devas*, when I suddenly saw the multitude of the *Devas* dancing together for joy. I forthwith asked why they rejoiced in this extravagant way, on which they said, 'Great Rishi, you should know that to-day is born in Jambudvipa, of Maya, the first queen of Suddhodana-raja of the Sakya line, a royal son, who shall attain the complete enlightenment of *sambodhi*, and become all-wise.' Hearing this, I have come accordingly to behold the child Aalas! That my age should prevent me awaiting the holy fruit."

At the south gate of the city is a stupa. This is where the royal prince, when contending with the Sakya princes, cast the elephant away. The royal prince having contended in the public competition (*of arts and athletic exercises*) was left entirely alone (*without compeer)* among them all *(or*, in every exercise). And now the Maharaja Suddhodana, after receiving congratulations (*or*, congratulating him), was about to go back to the city.

At this time the coachman was leading out the elephant and just about to leave the city. Devadatta, confident as ever in his brute strength, was just entering the gate from without; forthwith he asked the coachman, "Who is going to ride on this gaily caparisoned elephant?" He said, "The royal prince is just about to return, therefore I am going to meet him." Devadatta, in an excited manner, pulled the elephant down, and struck his forehead and kicked his belly, and left him lying senseless, blocking the way so that no one could pass. As they could not move him out of the way, the passers-by were stopped on their route. Nanda, coming afterwards, asked, "Who has killed the elephant?" They said, "It was Devadatta". Forthwith he (*Nanda*) drew it on one side of the road. The prince-royal then coming, again asked, "Who has done the foul deed of killing the elephant?" They replied, "Devadatta killed it and blocked up the gate with it, and Nanda drew it on one side to clear the road." The royal prince then lifted the elephant on high and threw it across the city moat; the elephant falling on the ground caused a deep and wide ditch; the people since then have commonly called it "the fallen-elephant ditch."

By the side of this is a *vihara* in which is a figure of the royal prince. By the side of this again is a *vihara*; this was the sleeping apartment of the queen and the prince; in it is a likeness of Yasodhara and (*the child*) Rahula. By the side of the queen's chamber is a *vihara* with a figure of a pupil receiving his lessons this indicates the old foundation of the schoolhouse of the royal prince.

At the south-east angle of the city is a *vihara* in which is the figure of the royal prince riding a white and high-prancing horse; this was the place where he left the city. Outside each of the four gates of the city there is a *vihara* in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a sramana. It was in these places the royal prince, on going his rounds, beheld the various indications, on which he received an increase of (*religious*) feeling, and deeper disgust at the world and its pleasures; and, filled with this conviction, he ordered his coachman to return and go home again.

To the south of the city, not far, there is a stupa; this is the place where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

To the south-east of the city is a stupa where are that Tathagata's relics (*of his bequeathed body*); before it is erected a stone pillar about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. By its side (*or*, on its side) is a record relating the circumstances of his Nirvana. It was erected by Asoka-raja.

To the north-east of the town of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, going about 30 *li*, we come to an old capital (*or*, great city) in which there is a stupa. This is to commemorate the spot where, in the Bhadrakalpa when men lived to the age of 40,000 years, Kanakamuni Buddha was born.

To the north-east of the city, not far, is a stupa; it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.

Farther north there is a stupa containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his Nirvana; this was built by Asoka-raja.

To the north-east of the city about 40 *li* is a stupa. This is the spot where the prince sat in the shade of a tree to watch the ploughing festival. Here he engaged in profound meditation and reached the condition of "absence of desire." The king seeing the prince in the shade of the tree and engrossed in quiet contemplation, and observing that whilst the sun's rays shed their bright light around him, yet the shadow of the tree did not move his heart, recognizing the spiritual character of the prince, was deeply reverent.

To the north-west of the capital there are several hundreds and thousands of stupas, indicating the spot where the members of the Sakya tribe were slaughtered. Virudhaka-raja having subdued the Sakyas, and captured the members of their tribe to the number of 9,990 myriads of people, then ordered them to be slaughtered. They piled their bodies like straw, and their blood was collected in lakes. The *devas* moved the hearts of men to collect their bones and bury them.

To the south-west of the place of massacre are four little stupas. This is the place where the four Sakyas withstood an army. When first Prasenajit became king, he sought an alliance by marriage with the Sakya race. The Sakyas despised him as not of their family, and so deceived him by giving him as a wife a child of a servant, whom they largely endowed. Prasenajit-raja established her as his principal queen, and she brought forth in due time a son, who was called Virudhaka-raja. And now Virudhaka was desirous to go to the family of his maternal uncles to pursue his studies under their direction. Having come to the south part of the city, he there saw a new preaching-hall, and there he stopped his chariot. The Sakyas hearing of it forthwith drove him away, saying, "How dare you, baseborn fellow, occupy this abode, an abode built by the Sakyas, in appearance (*or*, intended for) an abode of Buddha?"

After Virudhaka had succeeded to the throne he longed to avenge his former insult; he therefore raised an army and occupied this place with his troops, who took possession of the fields. Four men of the Sakyas, who were engaged in ploughing between the watercourses immediately opposed the progress of the soldiers, and having scattered them, entered the town. Their clansmen, considering that their tribe was one in which there had been a long succession of universal monarchs, and that the honourable children of such righteous kings had dared to act cruelly and impetuously, and without patience to kill and slay, and so had brought disgrace on their family, drove them away from their home.

The four men, having been banished, went to the north among the Snowy Mountains; one became king of the country of Bamyan, one of Udyana, one of Himatala, one of Sambi (Kausambi?). They have transmitted their kingly authority from generation to generation without any interruption.

To the south of the city 3 or 4 *li* is a grove of nyagrodha trees in which is a stupa built by Asoka-raja. This is the place where Sakya Tathagata, having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father and preached the law. Suddhodana-raja, knowing that Tathagata had defeated Mara and was engaged in travelling about, leading people to the truth and converting them, was moved by a strong desire to see him, and considered how he could pay him the reverence due to him. He therefore sent a messenger to invite Tathagata, saying, "Formerly you promised, when you had completed your purpose to become a Buddha, to return to your native place. These are your words still unperformed; now then is the time for you to condescend to visit me." The messenger, having come to the place where Buddha was, expressed to him the king's desire (*mind*). Tathagata in reply said, "After seven days I will return to my native place." The messenger, returning, acquainted the king with the news, on which Suddhodana-raja ordered his subjects to prepare the way by watering and sweeping it, and to adorn the road with incense and flowers; and then, accompanied by his officers of state, he preceded 40 *li* beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to await his arrival. Then Tathagata with a great multitude advanced; the eight Vajrapanis surrounded him as an escort, the four heavenly kings went before him; divine Sakra, with a multitude of devas belonging to the World of Desires (Kama-loka), took his place on the left hand; Brahma-raja with *devas* of Rupa-loka accompanied him on the right. The bhikshu priests walked in order behind, Buddha by himself, as the full moon among the stars, stood in the midst; his supreme spiritual presence shook the three worlds, the brightness of his person exceeded that of the seven lights; and thus traversing the air he approached his native country. The king and ministers having reverenced him again returned to the kingdom. And they located themselves in this nyagrodha grove.

By the side of the *sangharama*, and not far from it, is a stupa; this is the spot where Tathagata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt a golden-tissued kashaya garment. A little farther on is another stupa; this is the place where Tathagata converted eight king's sons and 500 Sakyas.

Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a stupa; this is where the Prince Siddhartha practised (*athletic sports and competitive*) arts.

Outside the gate is the temple of Isvara-deva. In the temple is a figure of the *deva* made of stone, which has the appearance of rising in a bent position. This is the temple which the royal prince when an infant (*in swaddling clothes*) entered. King Suddhodana was returning from the Lumbini (Lavani - La-fa-ni) garden, after having gone to meet the prince. Passing by this temple, the king said, "This temple is noted for its many spiritual exhibitions (*miracles*). The Sakya children who here seek divine protection always obtain what they ask; we must take the royal prince to this place and offer up our worship." At this time the nurse (*foster-mother*), carrying the child in her arms, entered the temple; then the stone image raised itself and saluted the prince. When the prince left, the image again seated itself.

Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a stupa; it was here the royal prince contended with the Sakyas in athletic sports (*arts*) and pierced with his arrows the iron targets.

From this 30 *li* south-east is a small stupa. Here there is a fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror. Here it was, during the athletic contest, that the arrow of the prince, after penetrating the targets, fell and buried itself up to the feathers in the ground, causing a clear spring of water to flow forth. Common tradition has called this the *arrow fountain (sarakupa)*; persons who are sick, by drinking the water of this spring are mostly restored to health; and so people coming from a distance taking back with them some of the mud (*moist earth*) of this place, and applying it to the part where they suffer pain, mostly recover from their ailments.

To the north-east of the *arrow well* about 80 or 90 *li*, we come to the Lumbini (Lavani) garden. Here is the bathing tank of the Sakyas, the water of which is bright and clear as a mirror, and the surface covered with a mixture of flowers.

To the north of this 24 or 25 paces there is an a*soka flower tree*, which is now decayed; this is the place where Bodhisattva was born on the eighth day of the second half of the month called Vaisakha, which corresponds with us to the eighth day of the third month. The school of the Sthaviras (Shang-tso-pu) says it was on the fifteenth day of the second half of the same month, corresponding to the fifteenth day of the third month with us. East from this is a stupa built by Asoka-raja, on the spot where the two dragons bathed the body of the prince. When Bodhisattva was born, he walked without assistance in the direction of the four quarters, seven paces in each direction, and said, "I am the only lord in heaven and earth; from this time forth my births are finished." Where his feet had trod there sprang up great lotus flowers. Moreover, two dragons sprang forth, and, fixed in the air, poured down the one a cold and the other a warm water stream from his mouth, to wash the prince.

To the east of this stupa are two fountains of pure water, by the side of which have been built two stupas. This is the place where two dragons appeared from the earth. When Bodhisattva was born, the attendants and household relations hastened in every direction to find water for the use of the child. At this time two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, the other warm, using which they bathed him.

To the south of this is a stupa. This is the spot where Sakra, the lord of *devas*, received Bodhisattva in his arms. When Bodhisattva was born, then Sakra, the king of *devas*, took him and wrapped him in an exquisite and divine robe.

Close to this there are four stupas to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received Bodhisattva in their arms. When Bodhisattva was born from the right side of his mother, the four kings wrapped him in a golden coloured cotton vestment, and placing him on a golden slab (*bench*) and bringing him to his mother, they said, "The queen may rejoice indeed at having given birth to such a fortunate child!" If the Devas rejoiced at the event, how much more should men!

By the side of these stupas and not far from them is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse, which was built by Asoka-raja. Afterwards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river, which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it the *river of oil*. This is the stream which the *devas* caused to appear as a pure and glistening pool for the queen, when she had brought forth her child, to wash and purify herself in. Now it is changed and become a river, the stream of which is still unctuous.

From this going east 300 *li* or so, across a wild and deserted jungle, we arrive at the kingdom of Lan-mo [Ramagrama] (Beal, 13-25: 1983).

After a small interval of time other visitors from China, arrived among them Wu-kung and Fang-chih, who mention a great tope at the spot where the Buddha was born (the tope was visited by Wu-kung in about 764 A.D.). Due to the lack of detailed information in their account, it is very difficult to assess the condition of this Buddhist holy land at that time.

There were many pilgrims of less repute who found their way to the land of the Buddha before or after Fa-hsien and Yuan Chwang. Mr. Ling-chi-chao states that "about 169 pilgrims during the six hundred years, i.e. between the third and eight centuries of the Christian era, visited India from China" (Hazra, 1: 1983).

Kapilavastu during and after Ripu Malla's visit:

Besides Ripu Malla's engravings there are 56 other small engravings on the Lumbini pillar, which suggests continuous visit of pilgrims to the Buddha's birthplace. After the visit of Ripu Malla to Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama, these important places were slowly converted into bush land and faded from memory for a long time. There are some scholars who believe that this was due to the revival of Hinduism and to the Muslim invasions, Kapilavastu and Lumbini being very close to Uttar Pradesh, a political centre for Muslims in India.

Indian and Nepalese historians are silent about any Muslim rulers attacking Kapilavastu or Lumbini or about any destruction having taken place. Nor is there any evidence of any damage to the sanctity of these areas caused by Hindus.

B.L Pradhan, on the other hand, believes that the rulers of the time did not pay proper attention to the development of these holy sites. He has given a long historical sketch of the region and comes to the conclusion, that Sikandar Lodi and Aurangzeb were mainly responsible for the desertion of Lumbini and Kapilavastu regions and their cultural heritage. Even Mukunda Sena, who ruled the region from Palpa, could do nothing to recover the religious glory of the site, and the result was that the site was lost in the dense forest that grew over it (Pradhan, 30-32: 1979).

The search of Kapilavastu:

After the decipherment of the Brahmi script by James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham organized a countrywide survey of archaeological remains in India. He followed the footsteps of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Yuan Chwang. He relocated many Buddhist sites in a vast area stretching from Gaya in the east to the Indus in the west and from Kalsi in the north to the Dhamnar caves in the south (Rijal, 16: 1983). He discovered the famous Buddhist sites of Sravasti, Bodhgaya, Kushinagar and others. But unfortunately the administration in Nepal did not allow foreigners to travel around the cultural centres in the Nepalese Tarai and caused a variety of difficulties for archaeological investigations. The archaeological research conducted by scholars necessarily focused on Indian territories. The famous Buddhist sites of Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama were hypothetically calculated as lying in or around Basti district of Uttar Pradesh in India.

Rejecting these unscientific assumptions, Lassen in 1858 sought the remains of Kapilavastu on the bank of modern Rohin a short distance to the north-west of Gorakhpur, a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh (Lassen, 201: 1858). He thought the river Rohin to be the ancient river Rohini that is said to have flowed between the kingdoms of the Sakyas and Koliyas, as mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicles. Stanislans Julian approved the judgment of Lassen.

Cunningham, after discovering the remains of Sravasti in 1863, fixed on Nagarkhas in the southern part of Basti district in the *pargana* of Aurangabad as the ancient Kapilavastu. Referring to the birthplace of Krakuchhanda Buddha, he writes, "As the site of this place may with great difficulty be identified with Kakua, eight miles to the west of Nagar, which I purpose to identify with Kapilanagara, I am inclined to adopt the narrative of Fa-hien. Now the distance between Sahet (Sravasti) and Nagar is rather more than 81½ miles" (Cunningham, 349: 1963). Why Cunningham made such a significant statement without visiting the site or examining the remains is not known.

A.C.L. Carlleyle in 1875-76 explored Basti and Gorakhpur districts with the prime objective of solving the question of the location of Kapilavastu. He identified Kapilavastu with the remains of Bhuiladih in Mansurnagar *pargana* of Basti district. These remains lie about 24 kilometres west-north-west of Basti. Carlleyle also attempted to confirm the claim of Cunningham concerning the location of Kapilavastu at Nagarkhas and sent a group of scholars to gather the necessary data. Concerning the identification of the birthplaces of Krakuchhanda and Kanakamuni

Buddha postulated by Cunningham, Carlleyle declares, "From the general conclusions that I drew from the above information which I received concerning Nagar Khas and its immediate neighbourhood, it appeared to me that it could not have been the site of Kapilavastu, as it did not seem to agree in any one single point with the description of that ancient capital of the Sakyas, as given either by Fa-hien or Hiuen-Tsiang. The general mound near Nagar Khas may probably be the site of some very ancient city, perhaps more probably, one of the ten deserted towns, which are stated to have existed in the dominion of the Sakyas; but it apparently has not any of the surrounding points, or contingent features, which especially constitute the most important and necessary concomitant, required for the full identification of the site of Kapilavastu" (Carlleyle, 87: 1972).

New era for Kapilavastu:

Charles Allen (2003) writes,

In the meantime other development that had been taking place in the Tarai country in northern Bihar soon drew the attentions not only of Austine Waddell and Vincent Smith but also of many other interested parties.

In March 1893 a Major Jaskaran Singh, an officer in the service of the Government of Nepal, out hunting in the jungle close to the Indian border at Nigliva, exactly due north of Benares, came to hear of a stone pillar known to the local Tharu jungle-dwellers as Bhimsena-ki-nigali or Bhimsen's Smoking Pipe. He asked to see it and was taken to a large man-made tank or reservoir beside which was laying a broken pillar of polished stone. He cleared away the jungle and found the base of the pillar, upon which were inscribed four lines of ancient writing (Allen, 262-63: 2003).

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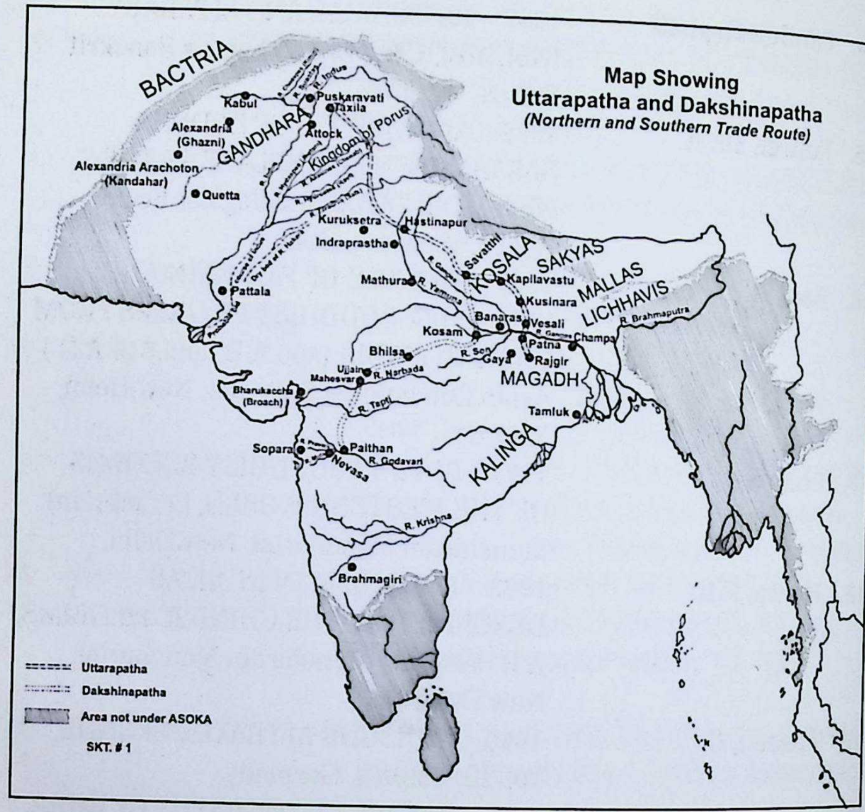
Skt. 1


Map Showing
Uttarapatha and Dakshinapatha
(Northern and Southern Trade Route)
BACTRIA
Kabul
Puskaravati
Taxila
R. Indus
Alexandria
(Ghazni)
GANDHARA
Attock
Kingdom of Porus
Alexandria Arachoton
(Kandahar)
Quetta
Kuruksetra
Hastinapur
Indraprastha
Pattala
Mathura
R. Yamuna
R. Ganges
Savatthi
KOSALA
SAKYAS
Kapilavastu
Kusinara
MALLAS
LICHHAVIS
R. Brahmaputra
Banaras
Vesali
Kosam
Patna
Champa
R. Son
Gaya
Rajgir
Bhilsa
Ujjain
Mahesvar
R. Narbada
MAGADH
Bharukaccha
(Broach)
R. Tapti
Tamluk
Sopara
Paithan
Novasa
R. Godavari
KALINGA
R. Krishna
Brahmagiri
Uttarapatha
Dakshinapatha
Area not under ASOKA
SKT. # 1

Kapilavastu on Uttarapatha (northern trade route)

CHAPTER 6

KAPILAVASTU

(The Ancient Sakya Kingdom, Part 2)

(This second part is devoted to how Kapilavastu was explored, discovered and identified. It contains the views of the archaeologists who under took the painstaking job of doing so in the late 18th and the early part of 19th centuries, especially Dr. Alois A. Fuhrer, 1895; Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji, 1899; and Mrs. Devala Mitra, 1962).

Kapilavastu in 1895:

After the discovery of Major Jaskaran Singh, the government of Nepal sent a request to the government of India for help in deciphering the text on the pillar. The request was accepted and passed on to the government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Circle.

In December 1895 Dr. A. Fuhrer, archaeological surveyor for that provinces, was assigned to take photographs of the said pillar, particularly the inscriptions on it. Dr. Fuhrer set out from his headquarters at Lucknow on the branch line of the Bengal and North-Western Railway to Uska Bazar, close to the Nepal border. After two days'travel he arrived in Niglihawa, the spot where Major Jaskaran Singh had seen the pillar. Dr. Fuhrer saw the pillar and recognized the Brahmi inscription as being of Asoka's time. He took both rubbings and photographs of the inscription and surveyed the areas in and around it and returned to Lucknow.

Dr. Fuhrer sent the rubbings to Professor Bühler in Vienna for translation. Bühler read the inscription as follows: "King Piyadasi beloved of gods, having been anointed 14 years, increased the stupa of Buddha Konakamana for the second time; and when he had been anointed ····· years, he himself came and worshipped it, caused to obtain ····"

Allen (2003) gives credit to Dr. Fuhrer for this important discovery and notes the following:

From Dr. Fuhrer's notes he (i.e. Buhler) learned that the pillar had stood close to a complex of brick ruins dominated by one large stupa rising some thirty feet out of the jungle, and surrounded by a raised processional path some fourteen feet high. But what Dr. Fuhrer had either failed to notice, or failed to mention, was that the "Konakamana" of the Asokan inscription was the Pali equivalent of the Sanskrit name of one of the early Buddhas, Kanakamuni. The significance of this was that both Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang had visited Buddha Kanakamuni's stupa – and both had placed it close to Kapilavastu, Buddha's ancestral home, which in turn was close to Lumbini, his actual birthplace (Allen, 264: 2003).

After the discovery of the Kanakamuni pillar at Niglihawa it became easier to locate the birthplace of The Buddha and his native town, Kapilavastu. Dr. Fuhrer pursued the descriptions given in the Buddhist literatures and the Chinese travellers to identify the location of Kapilavastu. He took hints from Ceylonese canonical books like *Deegha-nikaya* and *Ambattha-sutta*, which stated: "The banished sons of Ikshvaku, the ancient seer-king, settled where there was a great grove of sal trees on the bank of a lake (situated) on the lower slopes of the Himalaya." He found that this description fit quite well with the present ruins (i.e. Tilaurakot) near Srinagar Sagar in the Nepalese Tarai. He further went through the descriptions given in the *Divyavadana*, which locates Kapilavastu on the bank of the river Bhagirathi not far from the hermitage of Rishi Kapila. Accordingly, the ruins of Kapilavastu lie on the eastern bank of the river and Lumbini garden to the east of it. Mr. E. Senart intrtprets the name Kapilavastu as the "tawny-coloured town." It is a fact that the whole surface of the soil surrounding the present ruins of the ancient city is of a reddish yellow colour produced by deep deposits of carbonate of iron in the upper strata.

Fuhrer measured the country as being about 80 miles in length and about 40 in breadth and covering thus an area of about 2,400 (*sic*) square miles, most well suited for rice cultivation. To the east it was separated by the river Rohini, to the west and south it extended to Acchiravati (currently known as the river Rapti, about 200 kilometres west of Lumbini), to the south and south-east were

Kosala and the Malla kingdoms, and to the north well-wooded slopes of the sub-Himalayas. The towns and villages in the Sakya country were Khomadussa, Metalupa, Samagama, Sansumara and Ulumpa. These places are difficult to identify at the present time. Fuhrer was very optimistic about the possibility of identifying the site of Kapilavastu following the discovery of the Asoka edict pillars at Niglihawa and Lumbini.

The two Chinese travellers had left exact notes on extensive ruins about 18 miles north-west of the Lumbini pillar (i.e.Tilaurakot) and six miles north-west of Nigalisagar, in the middle of a dense *sal* forest over a length of about seven miles from the villages of Amouli, Baidauli, Harnampur and Bikuli (north-east) to Sivagarh, Tilaurakot and Ramaghat to the river Banganga (south-west), and over a breadth of about three to four miles from the villages of Rampura, Ahirauli and Srinagar to the south to the villages of Jagadishpur and Nagravah to the north. The whole site is at present as dreary and desolate as when seen by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang. According to Fa Hian, Kapilavastu was already a vast wilderness of ruins in the 5th century A.D.; it was the same in the 7th century A.D. when Hiuen Tsiang visited it two hundred years later. The ruins, therefore, have fortunately not been disfigured by late constructions, nor did the Muslim invaders ever touch them. Systematic excavations would furnish us with monuments of not only the Buddha's time but of a much earlier period (Fuhrer, 36-44: 1972). (Skt. 1)

The explorations and then the identification of the lost city of Kapilavastu by Dr. Fuhrer created a sensation among the scholars of his time. The hypothetical calculation of Kapilavastu's location was borne out.

Kapilavastu in 1899:

After Dr. Fuhrer, Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji, an archaeologist active in the North-Western Province and Oudh, was instructed "to explore and fix the position of the city of Kapilavastu, as a whole, as accurately as possible, in relation to points within British territory, to Tauliva, Nigliva, and the great mounds at Tilaurakot, Lori-ki-kudan, and the various Tharu village." Mukherji left Lucknow on the 23rd of January and reached Tauliva, the headquarters of the Nepalese Tarai, on the evening of the 25th. From the 3rd of February to the 29th of March, almost two months, he carried out extensive explorations of the area and excavated some trenches in Tilaurakot. Though, this was a very short time assigned to him for excavations and explorations, he successfully dug the mound of Tilaurakot and explored many ruined sites including Tauliva, Chitradei, Sagarwa, Bikuli, Nigali, Araurakot, Gotiva, Lori-ki-kudan, Sisania, Rummin-dei, Saina-Maina, Dohani and Piprava.

Explorations:

Mukherji thoroughly examined the various ruins in Kapilavastu and divided them into two main groups: "The western one consists of Sisania, Gotiva, Lori-Kudan, Tauliva, Araura-kot, and Bikuli with Chitra-dei and Tilaura-kot in the centre (which he proposes identifying with Kapilavastu). The second group is that of Rummin-dei with Saina Maina to the north, the two Sisanias to the west, and Dohani on the south-west. To these two groups may be added a third, that of Piprava, which occupies the southern apex of the triangle, made up with the other two" (Mukherji, 1: 1969). (Skt. 2)

Tilurakot:

Mukherji extensively explored the site of Tilaura. After examining the mound, he decided to sink some trenches for excavation at the prominent areas. The result of his excavation was very fruitful and positive. After studying the remains and ruins, he immediately identified the site of Tilaura as belonging to the father of The Buddha, Suddhodana.

The detailed result of his findings and observations of the site are summarized follows:

Kot or fort:

The Kot or the ruined fort of Tilaura is about 2 miles due north of Tauliva, and is situated on the east bank of the Banganga. The mound is a rectangular fort measuring about 1,600 feet north to south and 1,000 feet east to west, of which excavation was carried out in the north-western and south-eastern comers to form diagonal sides. The north-western portion was damaged by the river in ancient times and left on that side for a breadth of about 500 feet. Originally it appeared like a mud fort, on which subsequently brick walls were raised. Mukherji noticed that of the ruined walls are easily distinguishable on all four sides. Further he saw that a deep ditch on all sides protected this brick fort, as did a second mud wall and a second, wider ditch (p. 19). (Skt. 3)

Fort wall:

His excavation in the north and near the eastern gateway revealed walls with a breadth of between 10 and 12 feet, having no foundation, and built in mud. This caused the walls to slope on the outside and otherwise to be out of the perpendicular. The measurement of the bricks in the fort walls is 12¼″ × 8″ × 2″. After clearing some portions of the eastern gate, two walls were found running eastward and at an angle to the main fortification wall, which went north to south and which terminated 10′7″ south of the northern cross-wall. Here it extends westward for a length of 17 feet, till a wall appears going southwards. Beyond this, the northern wall goes westward again. Some 49′ 9″ south of the northern cross-wall is another such wall, also extending eastward. There are two guardrooms on the inner and outer sides of the gate. That there was an inner guardroom is quite plain from what had been exposed already. In front of the gate, that is, to the east, are the vestiges of a square structure (p. 19).

Ruins within the fort:

But before detailing the ruins on the outside of the fort, he describes what is within. The inner area is considerably elevated to the north-west and south. The southern half is now covered with thick, thorny growth. The northern portion also used to be full of lants, but these were removed some twelve years ago (i.e. 1887) by a sannyasi that made this domain his hermitage. The northern rampart and the western portion remained overgrown with thorny vegetation, till Mukherji cleared some space for excavation. Beyond the north wall and the ditch, the thicket is quite impenetrable; tigers sometimes take shelter there. Just to the north of the south wall the inner area remains low for about 200 feet, beyond which the ground rises (p. 19).

Pond to the north-east:

In the north-east corner is a large man made pond full of lotus plants. To the west of it is an elevated area, which appears to be the site of the palace. And south of the pond is a low mound, beyond which is a channel that communicates with the eastern ditch and joins the pond by making, in the west, a sweep round a low mound to the south of the pond. To the south of the hypothesized palace site is another pond, now almost filled up and dry. The ground extending eastward from this pond to the east gate was comparatively lower than it (p.20).

Palace site and excavation:

The western wall, which goes from the north-western corner towards the south, was cut away at some unknown point in age. The debris in the northern half of the wall cannot, unfortunately, be used to determine where the western gate stood. The palace area proper is consequently not now large (p. 20).

Samai Mayi:

In the middle of the site is a modern temple seemingly raised on an ancient foundation dedicated to the sylvan deity called Samai Mayi, who is represented by a small collection of stone fragments of ancient sculpture? Minutely examining the mounds, Mukherji began excavation to the west and east of the temple by digging of two trenches from north to south (20). (Skt. 4)

Walls exposed: original masonry:

Though several walls were removed by the sannyasi to obtain bricks for his hut, as hollow lines showed, Mukherji exposed several walls not below five feet in height. Some of these walls appeared to have been raised after the decay of the original edifices; and the foundation walls of the original monuments were traced much below those built in subsequent periods. The original structure, of which a good specimen was unearthed on the west of the modern temple, is more rough and inartistic than the latter (p. 20).

A structure with concrete flooring:

About 25 feet west of the original masonry, Mukherji exhumed another structure, whose walls were traced on the three sides - south, west and north; a concrete and lime pavement of interesting composition was cleared in the east. Another pavement was discovered about two feet beneath the surface in another trench dug north-west of the modern temple. The walls of the western building bore bricks along the perimeter of the plinth and elsewhere, but not according to any design, which fact proved that they were not a part of the original building (p. 20).

Two other monuments, square and octagonal:

To the east of the temple were exposed several walls bearing a structure of sorts. Due to time constraints, Mukherji was unable to trace out the buildings, except for two structures, one octagonal (probably a stupa) and the second square. A wall joined these two structures (p. 20). (Skt. 5)

Two other structures, cruciform and 16-sided in plan:

Since almost at first sight Mukherji thought that Tilaura-kot might represent the ancient and by then forgotten Kapilavastu, and the north-west mound the site of the palace, it struck him as very possible that the mound north-east of the latter might conceal a stupa, that of Asita, as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Accordingly, he excavated this mound and discovered two structures, one

16-sided and the other a square with rectangular projections in the middle of each side. The 16-sided structure made of solid brickwork was an unmistakable indication of a stupa. About 100 feet north was the northern gate of the fort (p. 20-21).

Central pond and mounds:
Close to the central pond, mounds are visible at some distance to the west, north and south-east. And to the north-west, that is, sout-west of the modern temple, is a large mound which, on being superficially excavated, yielded a building of respectable dimensions. But Mukherji did not open it completely. The mound to the west of the pond bore another structure, of which the plan is square and the northern room long and narrow. The mounds north of the pond contained vestiges of brick buildings, as a superficial excavation revealed. The mound south-east of the pond showed indications of buildings, a portion of wall being exposed to the west and extendeding towards the south-west (p. 21).

Jungles and gates on the southern area of the fort:
To the south of these ruins, the fort area is elevated and covered with jungle. Mukherji did not detect any brick remains or other rubble scattered about, which fact showed that this part of the citadel was occupied with mud and *kaccha* houses.

In the south-eastern portion of the southern wall of the citadel he noticed a gateway. In the middle portion, too, there was a second gate, which is now not easily distinguishable from the line of debris. North of this wall and abutting on it is a low the inner area extending about 200 feet and opening out towards the west wall, where there was another gate, as proved by a break in it. About 500 feet north of this there is another break in the western debris of wall, which shows that another gate was constructed in it (p. 21).

East gate and an outbuilding:
Returning to the east gate and going about 50 feet, ukherji found the remains of a large square building, vestiges of whose walls

were traced to the north and south. The original walls, after their fall, were badly restored, as shown by portions being out of true. This fact suggests a precarious state of existence among the inhabitants at a period subsequent to the original structure. A building just in front of the east gate of the fort obviously would have interfered with defance and so was evidently built when the citadel ceased to be the abode of the raja. It appears that it was constructed when the fort was in ruins, as its masonry, too, shows. (p. 21). (Skt. 6)

Stupa:

About 600 feet south-east of the east gate is a large mound, which Mukherji immediately recognized was a stupa. Before he reached there, the Nepalese had, at the request of Major Waddell, cut a trench without finding anything. Mukherji changed the direction of the excavation; and the same day, a portion of the circular structure was laid bare to the north-east. Digging also to the west, south and east, he found the perimeter, which he measured and drew. It appears to be made up of several concentric circles of large bricks; and the circular platform for the purpose of circumambulation appeared to have been once paved with concrete. The different sizes of the bricks in the several parts of the structure showed the different ages of the building, with those of the largest size belonging to the inner and original structure. On minutely examining the trench from north to south, or rather from north-east to south-west, he found that the northern portion of the stupa, south of the platform, had been excavated in some unknown age, presumably for the purpose of removing the relics. While he was absent at Sagarwa, Major Waddell ordered, on the 20th of February, the centre of the stupa to be dug deep down to the very soil, before he left the place. The hole, about 11 feet deep and 10 feet in diametre, did not bring to light any relics or bones, as Mukherji had hoped for ages ago the stupa had been opened a little on the northern side. He took minute measurements and made a plan with section of the stupa before filling up the excavations (p. 21-22). (Skt. 7)

Two large ponds and the outer ditch forming a rivulet:
The position of the stupa in relation to the eastern gate struck Mukherji as having some meaning, presumably associated with the life of the Buddha. Beyond the stupa and a short distance to the south-east was a large manmade pond, now dry, south of which was another pond, not less ancient, to the west of Sandwa village. The outer ditch on the east branches southwards at the south-east corner, where it turns towards the west, south of the fort. It forms a rivulet during the rains and going west of Tauliva joins a river in what was then British territory. Was it the missing Rohini? (p. 22).

Mounds to the north of the kot:
To the north of the citadel, and the northern inner ditch, is another, triangular plot of high ground, then covered with impenetrable jungle, which once, no doubt, formed an inhabited part of the ancient town. The outer ditch turns round the northern part of this plot and go towards the west (p. 22).

A vihara and mounds to the west of the kot:
The outward ditch extends from the south-west corner to the village of Sheugarh, north of which the ground slopes down considerably to the upper bed of the Banganga. From the western gate of the citadel to the gate Mukherji marked on the plan as No. 2, and beyond the inner ditch lies stretched a semicircular mound, of which the northern portion is more elevated and probably bore an earthern stupa. The centre of this semicircular area is also comparatively high ground, where an excavation revealed the brick foundation of a large room, a *vihara,* probably of ancient times. To the west of this, the inner ditch makes a semicircular sweep towards the north.

To the west of the probable site of gate No. 2, and beyond the inner ditch, is a small eminence of yellowish earth, where probably was once a stupa (p. 22).

Mounds in the south:

To the south of the southern ditch is a mound of earth scattered with a large amount of iron refuse, or something like it, which shows that there was a large workshop there in ancient days. A large tree surmounts the mound. About 100 feet west of it is an ancient well. About 600 feet south of it is another. In the village of Derwa, about two furlongs south, are an ancient manmade pond and the ruins of two stupas, or something very like them (p. 22).

That the ancient town extended a long way to the north, east and south of the kot can be seen from the extent of high ground from Ramghat to the two villages of Tilaura (Mukherji, 19-23: 1969).

Mukherji identifies Tilaurakot as the ancient capital city of the Sakyas (Kapilavastu):

Mukherji examined all the information of the Sakya kingdom mentioned in the legendary lore, Chinese, Tibetan and Ceylonese literary sources, the available Buddhist literature and travel accounts, and came to the conclusion that Tilaurakot was the ancient capital of the Sakyas. The following points are prominent elements of his argument:

1. The first point is that the Sakya brothers exiled from Saketa went in a northern direction to the sal forest, where they settled and founded a town near the hermitage of the risi Kapila.

2. The spot was near the southern slope of Himalayas, where the river Bhagirathi used to flow.

3. Contemporaneous with Kapilavastu, another town, Koli or Devadaha, was founded and between these two flowed a river, the Rohini or Rohita.

4. The Chinese pilgrims mentioned that Kapilavastu was between Sravasti on one side and Lumbini, Ramagrama and Kushinagara on the other. Hiuen Tsiang in the *Records* said

that Kapilavastu about 500 *li* south-east of Sravasti, and Ramagrama about 500 *li* east of it.

5. According to Fa-Hian, Kapilavastu was one yojana west of Kanakamuni's town, while Hiuen Tsiang mentioned that Krakucchanda's town was 50 *li* south of Kapilavastu and 30 *li* south-west of Kanakamuni's town.

6. Mr. Thomas Watters, in his article on Kapilavastu in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* 1898 (pp. 536 - 537) gives several bearings in relation to the Sakya city from the Chinese sources. One statement says that Kapilavastu was three days' journey from Sravasti. Another important statement is that the road from Kausambi to Saketa proceeded via Sravasti to Setavyam, Kapilavastu, Kusinara and Pava to Vaisali. The life of Chih Meng, a Chinese pilgrim, in about 435 A.D. places some 260 miles (1,300 *li*) south-west of Kisha (Kailasa).

7. There are several accounts which mention the distance of the chief towns from Kapilavastu: Anupama, near Ramagrama, was 12 yojanas (a yojana is equal to eight krosas); Rajgriha 60, (once the Buddha covered the distance in 60 days); and Vaisali 51 yojanas, If a map is prepared showing the Buddhist places in Madhyadesha, or the central country, we can determine the Sakya region.

8. The Kapilavastu region can further be located on the basis of Mr. Peppe's discovery of the inscription of the Sakyas and the Buddha's relatives, the Asoka pillar at Niglihawa and the stupa at Gotihawa, probably the native place of Krakucchanda. Dr. Fuhrer's identification of the stupas commemorating the massacre of the Sakyas also points to Kapilavastu. The Asoka pillar at Lumbini and the descriptions of the Chinese pilgrims tally with the present ruins of Tilaurakot as the Sakya capital. The Niglihawa and Gotihawa pillars define the locality further. Gotihawa is 30 *li* or about 6 miles south-west

> of Niglihawa, which is actually the case. Kapilavastu lies some distance north of the latter, and from Sagrahawa, the site of the massacre, it lies a short distance to the south-east. These calculations led Mukherji to look for Kapilavastu at the *kot* (fort) of Tilaura (p. 48-49).

According to Mukherji, Tilaurakot fulfils all the external conditions mentioned in the Buddhist literature. Kapilavastu was situated at the side of a lake and to the east of a river. Just tonthe west of it flows the river Banganga (or the Bhagirathi of some authorities among both the Brahmans and the Buddhist). Tilaurakot is near the Himalayas, of which the lower range is only about 10 miles to the north. It is about 10 to 12 miles west of Lumbini, and about 4 miles north of Gotihawa, where relics relating to Krakucchanda are located. Mukherji also searched for other sites possibly fulfilling the conditions of Kapilavastu. He found that Piprahawa had extensive ruins and must have been an important Sakya center. But he found no river close by, nor do the local bearings and distances tally with those of Kanakamuni and Krakucchanda, and the Himalayas are very far. Then he checked Sisania. Here again he found extensive ruins, but no remains of a brick fort, and the place was considerably south of Gotihawa and Niglihawa. After that he explored the other two, Sisania (Chhoti and Bari) and Saina-Maina. Yet again the bearings and distances were opposed to the hypothesis, and there were no remains of a brick fort or stupa. It will thus be seen that no other site has as much claim as Tilaura to being identified as Kapilavastu, it being situated in the right position and fulfilling all other conditions. The only other walled town in the region is Araurakot, which is in a suitable position but has not the required remains around it, and is too small.

Mukherji quotes a description of Hiuen Tsiang's:
This country is about 4,000 *li* in circuit. There are some ten deserted cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts, within the city, measure some

14 or 15 *li* around. They are all built of bricks. The foundation walls are still strong and high, and it has been long deserted. The peopled villages are few and wasted. There is no supreme ruler; each town appoints its own ruler. The ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to regular season. The climate is uniform, the manners of the people soft and obliging. There are 1,000 or more Sangharama remaining (*Records*, Vol. ii, p. 14).

Mukherji claims that the above description of Hiuen Tsiang applies to Tilaurkot and its neighborhood and nowhere else. There are jungles; there is a brick fort - the "royal precincts"- the citadel or the palace of the king, which also can be easily traced. The brick wall, which was between 1 and 12 feet broad and strong and high at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, can be easily envisaged. One difficulty is the circuit of the royal precincts, which Huien-Tsiang says was 14 or 15 *li* (about 2½ miles), but the present measurement is 1,700 feet north to south and 1,300 feet east to west, which is about a mile only. "Its circuit cannot be accurately measured" because it was in ruins and covered with thick jungles, so that 14 or 15 *li* was probably taken from hearsay, being applicable more to the limits of the outside town than to the citadel itself. The outside town embraced the present Citra-dei, Ramghat, Sandwa and Tilaura, which span about 2½ miles.

Hiuen Tsiang had further seen the ruined foundation walls, which were probably of the palace of Suddhodana, above which was built a vihara with a statue of the king. Near this, another ruined foundation, which was a sleeping chamber of Mayadevi, above which was built a vihara with a figure of the queen.

Mukherji searched the area mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. He excavated the north-western area of the fort, where he found the original foundation above which was built a vihara with a figure of the queen. He further excavated the same area and found the original foundation about five feet below the ground level. He tried to trace the vihara mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang but noticed that the remains were of an inferior kind, the bricks being not well set and the carved bricks placed here and there without meaning or design.

Towards the east he excavated the foundation of some buildings, of which one was octagonal and the other square, the western wall of these two continuing southward in a line to enclose other edifices, which he did not open completely. One of the two was most probably the vihara of the spiritual conception (Mayadevi conceiving the Bodhisattva as he descended from heaven in the form of a white elephant, as believed by the Mahasthavira sect.) Mukherji further noticed a stupa to the north-east of the conception-vihara, where Asita (also known as Kala-devala) prophesied that the infant Siddhartha was destined to become a Buddha. About 25 feet north-east of the octagonal structure he saw a small elevated spot, which he thought to be this site. In the excavation he traced the foundations of two edifices, one 16 sided and the other cruciform in plan. The 16-sided structure, of which every alternative side was recessed and which had a sort of portico on its north sides were solid brickwork and very characteristic of a monumental structure.

Mukherji located Yasodhara's quarters to the north-west of the central pond and near the south gate of the king's palace. He partially traced a building to the north-east of the central pond where Visvamitra taught Siddhartha. This building, Mukherji says, was the schoolhouse. Hiuen Tsiang had stated: "By the side of the royal precincts there is still a sangharama with about 30 followers in it, who study the little Vehicle of the Sammatiya school." He found one habitable quarter of Hiuen Tsiang's time, just inside the eastern gate. He excavated there and brought to light the foundation walls of a rather large building. Its original wall was traceable in the south-east corner, but on the north side some of the walls appeared to have been subsequently added inartistically and irregularly.

"There are a couple of Deva temples, in which various sectaries worship." Mukherji saw a broken sculpture, now worshipped as Devi or Samai Mai inside the citadel. The chief ecclesiastical buildings were on the other side of the river Banganga and at Chitra-dei, where he noticed the remains of a very large and magnificent temple. He traced the foundation walls of the smaller temples too. Mukherji mentioned a ditch known as Hastigarta (elephant ditch), which according to Buddhist legends was a place where Siddhartha threw away a dead elephant in front of the south gate. About 500 feet south of the gate of the citadel was a small mound of earth, which may commemorate the feat of throwing the elephant.

Hiuen Tsiang mentions a vihara at the south-east corner of the city, in which there was a figure of the royal prince upon a white horse. This was where he left the city. But according to the *Lalita-vistara*, the Bodhisattva performed the Mahabhiniskramana, the Great Renunciation through the Mangala-dwara, the Auspicious Gate, and left the city facing east, and since he rode evidently in an eastern direction the gate must have been the eastern one. So the vihara must be in front of the eastern gate.

About 600 feet south-east of the gate is a large stupa, which Mukherji identified as the stupa of Kanthaka's Nibarttana ("return"), as mentioned in the *Lalita-vistara*. The vihara of the Great Renunciation, according to Mukherji, is somewhere near the eastern gate where he had located the *sangharama*.

Mukherji further quotes the description of Hiuen Tsiang about the viharas in the four directions: "Outside each of the four gates of the city, there is a vihara, in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a Samana," at the sight of whom he became disgusted with the world and its pleasures. Fa-Hian mentioned only one stupa, where he turned his carriage back on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city by the eastern gate. But Mukherji points out a mound in front of the north gate- one north-east of Asita's stupa. He further noticed that in front of the east gate there was ample elevated ground to accommodate a vihara beside the *sangharama*. To the south, there are two stupa-like mounds at Derwa, where another vihara, may have been located. To the west was a semi-circular mound within the inner ditch, which he excavated and found a large room, which according to him probably, represented a vihara.

Again Hiuen Tsiang mentioned the famous Nigrodharama: "To the south of the city, 3 or 4 *li*, is a grove of nyagrodha trees, in which is a stupa built by Asoka Raja." Three or four *li* is less than a mile, but at this distance Mukherji did not find any stupa south of the south gate of Tilaurakot. He did come across the ruins of Kudan, which is about two miles south of Tilaurakot. The ruins were of solid brick, very like the stupa, and about 40 feet in height. This structure may have been the Nigrodha monastery where Suddhodana received his son as the Buddha, and which he dedicated to his community. "By the side of the *sangharama* and not far from it is a stupa where Tathagata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt (stepmother Prajapati Gautami) a golden tissue kashaya garment. A little further on is another stupa where Tathagata converted eight kings' sons and 500 Sakyas." Mukherji says that if the *sangharama* is that of Nigrodha, there is no difficulty in identifying these two stupas with the two other mounds of Kudan. Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a stupa where Prince Siddhartha practised athletic sports and competitive arts.

Mukherji opines that there is ample space to the south of the ancient road from the eastern to the western gates, which could have served the purpose of a recreation ground (the *Lalita-vistara* describes the arena of the tournament in the courtyard). Outside the (eastern?) gate is the temple of Isvara-deva. In the temple is a figure of the deva made of stone, which has the appearance of "rising in a bent position." Mukherji could not find such a temple either to the east of the citadel or in the neighbourhood of Tilaura. But if the temple exists it should be to the south of the south gate. Mukherji points out to the Taulesvara Mahadeva temple (linga) at Taulihawa. The present temple stands on a high brick mound, and there are other ruins nearby.

Hiuen Tsiang additionally said that "Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road is a stupa; it was here that the royal prince contended with the Sakyas in athletic sports (arts) and pierced with his arrows the iron targets." Mukherji believes that the south gate belongs to the citadel, not to the city. Within the citadel, Mukherji observed the cluster of villages with extensive fields in Kapilavastu. He speculated that one of the two stupa-like mounds at Derwa, about a furlong south of the citadel, might have been the tournament stupa. "To the north-west of this are several hundreds and thousands of stupas, indicating the spot where the Sakyas were slaughtered by Virudhaka Raja (Fa-Hian mentions only one stupa). To the south-west of the place of massacre are four little stupas where the four Sakyas withstood an army." Fuhrer identified this site of the massacre of the Sakyas by Virudhaka. It lies in the forest of Sagrahawa to the south-west of the large pond locally known as Lambusagar (large pond), where Dr. Fuhrer excavated extensively. Hundreds and thousands of stupas were not found, but seventeen were counted in the two excavated spots, and 49 subdivisions were cleared in the largest of the stupas attached to the cruciform monument miscalled a vihara. Probably there are other stupas still buried underground. Sagrahawa is two miles almost due north of Tilaurakot.

To the north-east of the city about 40 *li* (several *li*, according to Fa-Hian) is a stupa where the prince sat in the shade of a tree (jambu) to watch the ploughing festival. But Mukherji did not find any stupa at that distance in this direction. He suspected that many of the monuments mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang were not built of bricks or stones but were mere mounds of earth, which could easily have been washed out or cut away by the villagers in the course of time. This might be the reason he was unable to trace the stupa at the site of the ploughing festival.To the south of the city, going 50 *li* or so, we come to an old town where there is a stupa where Krakuchhanda Buddha was born during the Bhadra-Kalpa, when men lived up to 60,000 years. To the south of the city not far is a stupa where having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father. To the south of the city is a stupa, where lie Tathagata's relics (of his bequeathed body); before it is erected a stone pillar, about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. By its side is a record relating to the circumstances of his Nirvana. Asoka Raja erected it.

Here Mukherji is right to reduce the distance from 50 to about 20 *li* or about 4 miles; the yojana of Fa-Hian, then the ruins at Gotihawa, fits the identification; for here is a brick stupa, near which is the lower portion of an Asoka pillar now worshipped as Phuteswar Mahadeva. Since the upper portion is broken, the inscription is lost. This pillar may have attested the Nirvana stupa of Krakuchhanda, which Mukherji traced and Major Waddell had dug, a large number of bones (teeth, thighbones, etc.) being found. North-west of this stupa Mukherji could not find any other site. But about two furlongs north-east of the village is a very large mound which may represent either the stupa of Krakuchhanda's meeting with his father or the place where he was born.

About 30 *li* (six miles) north-east from this old city (Krakuchhanda's town) was another "old large city", which also had a tope. Here the past Buddha Ka-no-ka-mou-ni (Kanakamuni) was born. Near this city, to the north-east, was the tope which marked the spot where this Buddha, after attaining Bodhi, admitted his father to his religion; and north of this was a tope with bodily relics of Kanakamuni Buddha. Here too was a stone pillar about twenty feet high, with a lion on the top; and a record of the circumstances of this Buddha's decease and the pillar wss erected by Asoka-Raja (Watters, 5-6: 1973).

The pillar is lying in Nigalihawa, about three kilometres north-east of Tilaurakot. Asoka erected it when he went there in the 20th year of his reign. Mukherji believes that this pillar is not at its original site but that Kanakamuni's town is nearby. He did not find the brick stupa, and so again thought that the stupas were earthen ones and were either washed away or the earth removed by villagers for raising huts or for agriculture. If brick stupas were there, they could have been removed for rebuilding at Araurakot, which may represent the town of Kanakamuni. He believed that Nigalisagar was repaired and dug again after the visit of the Chinese pilgrims, the excavated earth being thrown over the ruined stupas, which might have stood there.

Sarakupa lay 30 *li* south-east of Kapilavastu (10 *krosa* according to the *Lalita-vistara*), where there was a small stupa near which was a "fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror." "Persons who are sick are mostly restored to health by drinking the water of this spring; and so people coming from a distance who take back with them some of the mud (most earth) of the place and apply it to the part where they suffer pain mostly recover from their ailments." Fa-Hian says that "Bodhisattva shot an arrow to the south-east and it went a distance of 30 *li*, then entered the ground and made a spring to come forth, which men subsequently fashioned into a well, from which travellers might drink." Mukherji measured 30 *li*, (5 to 6 miles) south-east of Tilaurakot, to Sisania, where are found extensive mounds of ancient ruins. To the north-east of the large mound and near the ditch is a small mound which may represent a small stupa. So he concluded that Sisania might be the more probable site for the arrow well (Mukherji, 50-57: 1969).

Mukherji's contribution to the history and the archaeology of Tilaurakot is highly admirable. Many Buddhologists, historians follow him in accepting "Tilaurakot as the ancient capital city of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu kingdom." Mukherji carried out extensive explorations and excavations at the site of the ruins and came up with detailed information, even though he was assigned a very inadequate amount of time for the work (less than two months, February and March of 1899). Initially he faced a lot of problems, for there was no map of the Tarai and there were no roads or bridges to the site. The whole region was a big forest full of wild animals. Once Mukherji ran across a tiger, which almost attacked him near the ruins.

Other difficulties mentioned by him:
In my late tour I was rather badly equipped, for both the survey and drawing implements and the photographic apparatus were a great deal of trouble in my work. I was allowed only one draftsman, and he joined me late, and my work grew so much in exploration, direction, supervision of excavations and taking notes, that I hardly found time for drawing on the spot. I took several sketches with detailed measurements. And latterly draftsman and I fell sick. Though labouring under these disadvantages, I succeeded in gathering a mass of information and illustrations and made a lot of discoveries of which the identification of Kapilavastu might be the most important (p. 4).

Mukherji divided the ancient ruins of the Kapilavastu into two major groups: the first consisting of Sisania, Gotihawa, Lori-Kudan, Taulihawa, Araurakot, Bikuli and Chatra-dei, with Tilaurakot in the centre, which he identified with the ancient capital of the Sakya kingdom Kapilavastu; the second, of Rummindei, with Saina Maina in the north, the two Sisanias in the west, and Dohani in the south-west. To these two groups may be added a third, namely Piprava, which occupies the southern apex of the base of the triangle defined by the other two.

Mukherji himself wrote in his report:
The actual time taken by the Nepal tour is about two months, of which for about six weeks I had unimpeded work. And considering the result, I trust that I may be credited with having made the best use of insufficient time I had at my disposal (p. 4).

Tilaurakot in 1962:
The party headed by Devala Mitra to explore sites in 1962 (Skt. 8) shifted their camp from Lumbini to near Tilaurakot on the 26th

of February, but circumstances forsed her to start excavations at Kudan instead. It was only in the month of April that the work could begin at Tilaura-kot. Sanat Krmar Ghosh, the surveyor, with help provided by the government of Nepal, cleared the fortified area of its overgroth and started preparing a contour map of the site. (Skt. 9) Having at her disposal barely two months, Mitra laid a small trench across the fortification. During the latter part of the period, the party was considerably handicapped by rains, which set in the last week of May and made good close-up photographs of the site difficult to take.

General features of Tilaurakot in 1962:

The general features and environment described by Mrs. Mitra when she visited Tilaurakot in 1962 are as follows:

The ancient site of Tilaura in which the *kot* (mound or fortified area) is located lies three kilometres to the north-east of Taulihawa, a district headquarters in the central part of the Nepalese Tarai. During the visit of Mrs. Mitra attention focused on the cart track from Taulihawa to Patharkot that used to pass through the eastern gate of the ancient fortification and a recently made opening in the corresponding western rampart. At the Samai-Mai temple inside the citade, some devotees assembled occasionally and offered terra-cotta animal figures to the deity; otherwise the site was absolutely deserted.

Tilaurakot is situated less than half a kilometre to the east of the Banganga River. Five successive beds of this meandering watercourse, including the present one, each receding towards the west, are clearly visible on the spot.

Mitra observed that during its lifetime the town was provided with a mud rampart and a brick fortification wall. To the east the fortification seems to have been more or less co-extensive with the limits of the then-existing settlement. To the south superficial observation reveals a narrow strip of uninhabited and to a large extent lower lying land included within its limits. On the southern flank of the west side, a large slice of the ancient habitation was left out of the fortification, the west wall of which, after running straight north for a certain distance, followed the curve of the ancient riverbank and the existing habitation. As on the south flank of the west side, a substantial part of the habitation was again discarded in the north. The fortification was thus a rough pentagon in plan, since the northern leg of the western side, conforming to the irregular bank, was diagonal. In length it measures roughly 252 m in the north, 458 m in the east and 328 m in the south. The straight distance between the central parts have the north and south sides and the east and west sides respectively 500 m and 405 m.

The present maximum height of the rampart was slightly more than five mrtres above the level of the fields on the western side, along the north wall where the trench (TLK–1) was laid. (Pl. 1)

Inside the fortification, the surface is generally flat; a few existing humps being not more than 2.134 m higher then the general surface. The more prominent mounds are perhaps due to a few medieval buildings that sprang up within the area independently of with the main life of the town. Of the two manmade ponds, the one near the north-east corner is both deep and large enough to contain water throughout the year (p. 9-11).

The Cutting – TLK-1:

Mitra laid a trench in the northern part of the mound across the fortification running north-south near its north-west corner to include the highest point of the fortification, only 28 cm lower than the highest point in the whole mound. The trench was 28 m long and 6 m wide, and later extended by 4 m on the north to cover some area outside the fortification. Due to the shortage of time only 2.75 m of the trench widthwas excavated in its southern half, up to the brick fortification wall, which was fully exposed. Beyond the fortification wall only a narrow strip of 1.22 m was excavated in the western part of the northern portion, down to the natural soil, which, however, was reached in other parts of the trench as well. (Skt. 10)

Mitra describes the stratification of the trench as follows: In the hard, clayey yellowish earth, mixed in with the small pebbles, were a limited numbers of shards of the Northern Black Polished Ware. There was an appreciable quantity of grey ware and black-slipped ware, but it was red ware that predominated.

The upper portion was partially sealed by a thin floor made of rammed brickbats and brick grits. Northern Black Polished Ware occurred in larger quantities than before, the frequency of other wares remaining more or less the same but with greater ash content.

Next noticed was a thin layer consisting entirely of burnt material indicative of a conflagration that had taken place in the area.

Above this was heaped-up material (a compact packing of earth, profuse shards and tiny brickbats) forming a mud rampart. The material was no doubt scooping out derived by the soil outside, thus leaving behind a moat. The pottery of these levels was of the same type as that of the preceding levels but was somewhat water-worn.

On the sloping outer face of the mud rampart was a fortification wall of bricks and brickbats. In the absence of any foundation trench, the mud rampart and the brick fortification wall appear to be contemporaneous. The inner face was found to be 16 courses high at the maximum, but the outer brick face was reduced to a single course at places, the maximum number of courses there being only five. The extant average thickness was 3.658 m. The maximum height formed by sixteen courses of bricks was 85 cm. The average size of the whole brick was 31.7 × 20.3 ×5.1 cm. Hardened from mud mortar; the brickwork was of the most indifferent kind. The top bore witness to the fall of the brick wall, being marked by an enormous amount of debris (earthen bricks and brick-bats) from the wall. The debris naturally sloped down outside into the moat and inside towards the toe of the ramp. Above this was the usual surface humus with loose earth and some brickbats.

According to Mitra, the lower part, which she marked Period I, was beyond the habitation, being represented by an unoccupied piece of land with a large pit-like depression in the natural soil. The north side gradually filled up with the accumulated material of occupational deposits. The period I.B is represented by compact clayey earth and other fillings that provided a level ground for habitation including two brick structures with very limited exposure on both faces of the trench.

To the south of the structure was a ring-well made of a succession of fifty-three terra-cotta rings of an average external diameter of 86.4 cm. The lower rings were buried in the natural soil and especially cut for the pit. Three more ring-wells were encountered near this ring-well.

Mitra measured the total thickness of the deposit from the top of the natural soil up to the highest point of the present surface as 3.861 m, of which the rampart occupied 1.5 m. The real habitation deposit (1.51 m high) in the trench was thus limited in extent and did not show much variation. She divided the fortification into three periods: Period I, pre-fortification, had two phases. Phase A of Period I consisted of layers 8B, 8A and 8 underlying the floor ring-wells 2 and 3, and probably 4 also belonged to this phase. Phase B was represented by the floor and layers 7B, 7A and 7, ending in a conflagration (layer 6), the brick structures and ring-well 1 were part of this phase. Period II saw the erection of the mud rampart (layers 5, 4, 3A and 3) and possibly the brick fortification wall. Period III was the age of decay of the fortification wall (p. 14). (Skt. 11)

Chronology:

Mitra explains the chronology of the trench in terms of pottery: "The Phase A of Period I is represented by the Northern Black Polished Ware." She agrees "the absence of this ware in the fugitive layer B need not be emphasized in view of the limited area under excavation." In both the phases, 8A and 8B red and grey wares, known to be associated with the Northern Black Polished Wares, were fully represented.

She came to the conclusion that "on this basis, but with all reservations necessitated by the restricted extent of the trench, it may be expedient to conclude that the settlement of the town may go back to about the sixth century B.C. if not earlier." The beginning of the occupation at the particular area where the trench was laid could be inferred from a shard inscribed in characters not earlier than the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. The evidence of coins and terra-cotta is in general consonance with this. How long that occupation continued is difficult to guess in the absence of real habitation deposits over the mud rampart on the outskirts of the fortified town. But it should be noted that nothing definitely from the post-Christian era was met with in the trench except some shards towards the top, which came to be mixed up with the debris of the brick fortification wall following its gradual decay in Period III.

The find of a so called Panchala coin and a few crude terra-cotta figurines on the surface elsewhere within the town bespeaks a more or less continuous occupation till about the 3rd century A.D. No object dating between this century and early medieval times has been found, and hence it is not known if the town was then completely deserted or perhaps only sparsely populated. In any case, this period does not appear to been a flourishing one (p. 15).

The pottery:

Mitra studied in detail the pottery collected from the trench, and presented them in her excavation report on pages 16 to 83. The pottery of Period I, which from the very beginning reveals a familiarity with well-developed ceramic forms, is in the main similar to that of Period III (early 6th to 3rd century B.C.) from Hastinapur (Uttara Pradesh) in India. But the pottery of Period I from the trench is not earlier than the 3rd to 2nd century B.C. The extensive finds, a result of mass production, features a wide range of shapes with many variants. Nearly all kinds of earthenware required for daily domestic use are represented on a large scale. Save for stray handmade shards, the entire range of pottery is wheel-turned. Avowedly utilitarian in purpose, the industry is for the most part plain. Decorations were very insignificant, being confined to simple patterns and rare painted bands. Specialized shapes are extremely rare. (Pl. 2&3)

Mitra classified the pottery of Period I under three heads, namely (i) the Northern Black Polished Ware, (ii) the black-and-red ware and (iii) other wares.

(i) The Northern Black Polished Ware
Mitra collected many shards of this pottery, but no complite vessels. On the basis of this fact she came to the conclusion: "It is certainly not earlier than the third century B.C. and is most probably not later than the second century B.C.".

The surface colour of these shards is usually coal-black and rarely steel-grey or silvery. A few have golden-brown patches. The core is grey or reddish, the part immediately below the black surface being generally dull red.

The determinable shapes in this ware are (a) saucers which can also be used as lids, (b) deep or shallow bowls with convex, receding or progressively widening sides, (c) small basins with receding sides, (d) lids with tapering sides, some with projection for flanged vessels (e) small vases with various rims and conspicuous neck, some with a cordon at the junction of the shoulder and necks and (f) carinated *handis* (p. 18-19).

(ii) The black-and-red ware

Mitra reports a very limited percentage of pottery is black-and-red, the entire interior and the outer surface of the rim of the pots being fired in an inverted position, and turning black due to the reducing conditions present in the fuel, and the remaining outer surface red owing to oxidizing conditions. The few types of bowls, basins and vases represented by this ware are not peculiar to it alone, for copious examples of these shapes are met with in red and grey wares. The fabric is usually medium. The red portion of the vessels bears a red slip (p. 20).

(iii) Other wares

Mitra noticed two other ceramic industries apart from the black-slipped ware. They are distinguished by their mode of firing: (a) the red ware and (b) the grey ware. Though red ware shards outnumber those of grey ware, the vessels in the latter ware are fairly prolific. Both the wares represent identical types in several shapes. A hard well-baked fabric characterizes the grey ware. Its smooth surface, for dishes and small bowls (the dinner set of the common people) explains the utility of this ware (p. 21).

a. Red ware

Mitra mentions that the great majority of the shards of this ware are slipped; the colour of the slip is almost invariably red, the common shade being bright red. The fabric is normally medium, though pots of fine fabric are by no means rare. Fashioned out of tolerably smooth paste, it is fairly well burnt. There are, however, many shards, which have a grey core, evidently due to indifferent firing. Mitra collected the shards of vases, perforated shards (in limited numbers), dishes (extremely rare in this ware), basins, lids, miniature *ghatas* or tumbler-like pots, deep and shallow frying pans and vessels on stands. (p. 22).

b. Grey ware

Mitra describes that this ware is fashioned out of a smooth paste of well-levigated clay and is of a fairly fine fabric. The grey ware is well baked on the whole. The ware has normally a medium-thick section, particularly in bowls. The core is generally ashy-grey and rarely blackish-grey. Most of the vessels were treated with a slip both internally and externally, the colour being either grey with shades varying from medium to dark grey or black. Several fragments, mostly dishes, have a black interior and black on the outside confined to the base; this may be due to the pots having been stacked one above the other in the kiln. The pots largely are plain.

The commonest kind of vessel in this ware is the dish with various rims. Bowls are frequent. Of limited occurrence are small wares, *handis,* miniature *ghatas,* lids, basins, vessels on stands and tumbler-like pots, all found in the trench (p. 23).

c. Miscellaneous pottery

Mitra collected some miscellaneous shards on the surface. The fabric of these shards ranges from medium to coarse. Most of these shards are of red ware. The most distinctive type is a cooking pot, with a globular profile and triangular handles in a continuation of the rim. The other specimens include (i) a bowl of red ware with a featureless vertical rim and receding sides, (ii) the lid of a red ware vessel with a flattened base and a central cup (iii) a sprinkler-type water flask (iv) a cooking vessel (v) a fragment of a spouted vase. (p. 79).

Other finds:

This very limited excavation is no doubt scrappy but sufficient to indicate a comfortable and organized urban life with an economy based evidently on mixed farming. An intimate familiarity with cattle, horses and sheep is reflected in the terra-cotta animal figurines. From the representation of elephants in terra-cotta it may be presumed that these animals, whether wild or domesticated, were well known. (Bones found in the excavation include those of domestic pigs, humped cattle, buffaloes, goats, sheep and dogs. Chopping marks on two bones of the pigs and on one of the sambur deer possibly indicate that the people used these animals for food.)

Ivory working was an established craft. People hooked river fish. Iron was used for multifarious purposes, copper for finger rings, bangles, hairpins, antimonyrods, fishhooks, etc, and bronze for utensils. A considerable sophistication is noticed in crafts and industries. The general prosperity of the town is suggested not only by the baked bricks and ring-wells, but also by ample small finds of various materials. Inscribed shards and single sealing reveal literacy at least in a section of the people. The discovery of a number of gold coins attested to a commercial sense and organized trade even if gold may not have been within easy reach of many. Still, with their resources, people decorated their houses with terra-cotta human figurines, the women bedecked themselves with ornaments of semiprecious stones and cheaper materials, and the children played with diverse figurine toys. A decorative and an aesthetic sense are amply manifest in the terra-cotta and other antiquities (p. 83-84).

Mitra found the following artifacts and antiquities in her limited excavation of a small trench:

A. Coin:

Altogether 70 coins were obtained from the excavation. Out of these, 13 coins are in an extremely poor state of preservation with no recognizable symbols. Two are silver coins, both punch-marked, and the rest are copper coins. Fifteen coins were collected from the surface, three are fragments, one is of silver and the rest are all of copper. The extensive circulation of coins indicates a systematized trade. (Pl. 4)

(i) Copper coins with a four-spoked wheel

Thirty-seven specimens have the four-spoked wheel symbol. Mitra presumed that these coins were local issues of the ancient Tilaurakot region when it was an independent state. Displaying a blank reverse, they fall into three groups: (a) small oblong or square die-struck pieces, (b) small circular die-struck coins, and (c) circular cast ones, all in copper.

The oblong or square struck coins were chiselled out of copper sheets, as proved by the slanting cut of the edges of some thick coins.

The circular struck coins, given their defaced condition, proved little means of determining the method of their manufacture.

The circular cast coins- in contrast to the die-struck coins are well preserved in most cases, and the neatly executed wheel, in high relief, stands out prominently above the edge. In some cases the protuberances usually removed in casting are still extant.

(ii) Punch-marked coins

Mitra collected five punch-marked coins from her trench, including one surface find. Three of them are of silver and two, both circular, are of copper. The silver specimens have various symbols and are cut out of a fairly thick sheet. On the obverse are five symbols: part of the sun, half of the six-armed symbol, half of the three-arched symbol, the so-called caduceus with three conjoined ellipsoids having a straight line passing through the centre of all three, and a curious symbol somewhat resembling a triangle-headed standered circular in centre. The symbol on the reverse is again caduceus, but smaller than the one on the obverse.

The second silver coin is from the rampart filling. It is larger but thinner than the other two. Its obverse also bears five symbols: the sun (almost complete) a six-armed symbol enclosed by three broad arrowheads, a humped bull, an elephant, and a swift-footed running animal with erect ears, possibly a hare. The three symbols on the reverse faintly marked, and all punched shallowly.

The third silver coin was chipped off a thick sheet in the smallest of sizes. On the obverse are jumbles of symbols, while on the reverse appears to be a tiny branch, punch shallowly and defaced considerably.

The first copper coin has two symbols on one side, one the sun and the other something somewhat reminiscent of an a*nkusha* (a taurine?). The other side bears dot-like excrescences.

The second coin is thoroughly worn and defaced. It has a solar symbol near the edge.

(iii) Miscellaneous uninscribed cast copper coins

There are twelve uninscribed cast copper coins (excluding three from the surface), on all of which are symbols legible either fully or partly. Four of the coins with completely defaced symbols may also have belonged to this group. With the exception of two coins, which are circular, all are either square or oblong. Eight varieties can be distinguished, of which four are quite common and known from several sites.

(iv) Miscellaneous copper coins

Mitra put the two copper coins under the heading of miscellaneous, unrelated as they were to the coins noted above. Worn to an appreciable extent, both seem to have been circular and struck. The obverse has some symbols but the reverse of both coins is blank.

(v) Inscribed copper coins

Two inscribed copper coins emerged from the excavation. One oblong cast bears on the obverse a trotting elephant, facing right before a standard with a crowning member. The reverse has the letters... *devasa* of coins of an earlier dynasty assigned to the 2nd -1st centuries B.C. The other is circular. The obverse contains the issuer's name, Agimitrasa dated to the 1st century B.C., while the reverse is defaced (P. 84-91).

B. Sealing and inscribed potsherds:

Mitra collected three sealing (all in terracotta) and two inscribed potsherds. Two of the sealing have a plano-convex shape. One has four letters, which can be assigned to the 2nd century B.C. The third one is a roughly fashioned ball, partly issued with a double impression. The two inscribed potsherds are of red ware. One bears the two letters *ni* and *ye* in characters of the 3rd century B.C. The other contains the letters *na, ya* and *di* in characters of the same century. From the early level there were, if not three, then other letters before them (p. 100). (Pl. 5)

C. Terra-cotta:

(i) Human figurines

Mitra could be satisfied with a rich crop of terra-cotta finds, of which 33 are human figurines. Stratigraphically, she found little difficulty in dating most of the specimens, of which 25 came from the rampart filling from the earliest to the latest of the pre-rampart settlement.

These figurines hardly contain any characteristics peculiar to this region alone. Bearing the impress of the trends, tastes and fashions of the artistic movement of the Maurya and Sunga periods, most of them conform to of the contemporary terra-cotta art tradition of northern India. Many of them were intended for house decoration, a presumption substantiated by the suspension holes occurring in plaques from several sites. The female figures by far outnumber the male ones as in other centres (p. 100). (Pl. 6&7)

(ii) Animal figurines

One hundred and fourteen animal figurines were collected from the excavation, including 33 surface finds Many of these are, however, portions of the limbs - legs, trunks, tusks and horns - which, however, do not fit the available trunks. The animals are hand-modelled and solid throughout. Made of fine-grained clay, they are usually red and fairly well burnt, often with a grey core and sometimes red throughout. Very rarely are they grey all through. These grey specimens are generally elephants. Usually, the ears and tusks are separately fashioned and applied. These figurines are mostly toys, the holes through the snout, nose and trunk suggesting that they ran on wheel. (Pl. 8&9)

The most favourite animal seems to have been the elephant, represented by 52 excavated specimens. Six figurines are bulls, or cows, heads from excavation, and there are nine similar surface finds. Six horses emerged from excavation, and four are from the surface. There is only one specimen of a ram from the excavation. There are almost eleven torsos of the animals collected from the digging (p. 108-111).

(iii) Toy cart and toy wheels

There are three toy carts among the excavation finds, and two from the surface. Eight wheels, all solid and double convex, were collected from the excavation (p. 116). (Pl. 10)

D. Miscellaneous objects:

Miscellaneous excavated terra-cotta objects include hundreds of discs belonging to different periods, four balls, a triangular object of uncertain purpose, one saddle, six stoppers, two solid cylinders, two ear-studs, an exceptionally well-made circular lid, a hollow conical object, and, a hollow, shapeless object.

The surface finds were ten in number, of which two are reel-shaped ear-studs; two fragments of a dabber; and two, fragments of muller-shaped objects; one, a stamp with a solar symbol; one, a fragment of a mould for ornaments (?); one, a fragment of a stopper (?); and one, fragment of a cylindrical object with a central perforation (p. 117-119). (Pl. 11)

E. Stone objects:

Mitra collected 31 objects made of various rocks and minerals. She writes, "It appears that, though within fairly easy reach, it was not a common medium, albeit minerals were in frequent use for luxury articles like beads. Except for querns and mullers there are scarcely any domestic articles of daily use in stone." Nine objects are fragmentary slabs of querns, mostly of fine-grained sandstone and some of them highly polished by rubbing. Of them two, both stool-querns are similar to ones found in the pre-200 B.C. settlement of Bhir Mound (Taxila, now in Pakistan) by Marshall. The mullers, all in small fragments, are eight in number. The specimens, oblong or square in cross-section, have on one of their sides a depression presumably due to long use. (Pl. 12)

Five fragments of flat discs are of special interest. Two of them are remarkable both for their high finish and polish. Besides these there is a tiny flat piece of chalcedony with one face polished. A single piece of unidentified rock in the shape of a ball was found. One flat fragment of a lathe-turned (?) reddish steatite was extracted from the rampart filling. Two fragments of tapering rods of slate, which may have been parts of antimony rods, were found. Fragments of two small toiletrycaskets (?) of steatite and a fragment of mottled steatite that looks like a grooved bangle or large ring were also found. A remaining specimen is white chalcedony in a damaged condition.

F. Beads:

(i) Glass beads

Mitra counted 376 beads in the limited area under excavation. These specimens include five pendants, two plano-convex blocks for cemented eye beads, two partially drilled leaves of amethyst and an undrilled but polished, roughly diamond-shaped tubular piece of topaz, which may also have been used to set in an ornament. Of these finds, 133 are of terra-cotta, 67 of glass, 50 of bone, 38 of agate, 28 of rock-crystal, 21 of carnelian, nine of chalcedony, seven of garnet, four of amethyst, three of jasper, three of frit and one each of topaz, aventurine, citrine, garnetiferous micaceous gneiss, silver, copper, shell and paste, along with five of unidentified material. Apart from these, she picked up 12 beads from the surface; five of them are of terra-cotta, two of black opaque glass with white spirals, and two of blue glass and an unidentified material. The most common bead material among the minerals was thus quartz in its crystalline and cryptocrystalline varieties. (Pl. 13)

Some of these beads are incomplete, indicating thereby that theirmanufacture was a local industry. The find of a partly worked piece of chalcedony and a hexagonal rock crystal in its natural formation also points to the same conclusion. It is evident that lapidary art had attained a fairly high level. Some minerals like green jasper and garnet, which are of deep colour and appear almost drab when cut in the ordinary way, were usually given faceted cuts, which enhanced their attractiveness and consequent value. Agate was frequently fashioned in such curved surfaces as would display the banding effectively. The bead-maker also exhibited a keen sense of decoration and great skill in the manufacture of etched beads of chalcedony, agate and carnelian, cemented eye beads of chalcedony and agate, glass beads with spiral and longitudinal stripes and grooved beads of bone and silver. Special types of pendants like the sword, dagger and animal claw or tooth, Mitra believes, were intended to avert evils.

Though the bone beads are quite abundant, only a few are interesting. As much as 31 specimens represent the common shape, spherical with two ends slightly flattened. Most of the bone beads are chiselled to a fine finish, while a few have a black surface.

Glass beads from the trench are plentiful. The black opaque variety counts as many as 31 example; shellac- opaque red, five; green, 12; bluish green, four; greenish blue, two; light blue, six; traffic blue, one; French blue, two; azure blue, one; and opaque orange, one. (Pl. 14)

(ii) Terra-cotta beads

The most popular form in terra-cotta is vase-shaped, represented by as many as 97 specimens, excluding three from the surface. The shape varies, with some having a disc-like rim, a constricted neck and a truncated conical profile. With the exception of four beads, which are grey, all are red, the colour varying from dull-red to well-burnt brick red. The fabric is usually fine, though there are some with a medium fabric. Most were originally treated with a red slip, the colour varying from bright red to blackish red. A few have a black slip. (Pl. 15)

Of the five beads the material of which has not been identified definitely include a fragment of a short barrel-shaped circular bead, as etched spheroid eye bead, an unbored spherical bead and a damaged specimen, perhaps a long convex circular dagger-shaped pendant. The last is a specimen with a series of concentric V-shaped incisions marking the exaggerated bottom end of a hilt (p. 123-131).

G. Bangles:

The bangles are mostly made of terracotta. Mitra counted as many as 170 excluding three from the surface. One of these is too small for a bangle and probably served as a finger ring. None of them is complete. Made of fine clay, they are usually well burnt, though a few have a grey core due to indifferent firing. (Pl. 16)

Bangles of other materials are relatively rare. Bone bangles are only seven in number, all fragments. All these fragments, which are well finished and somewhat polished, are dark-brown in colour. A single fragment is of shell; five fragmentary specimens feature chalcedony and agate, both white. There are only six glass bangles, of which two are tiny pieces in bluish green (p. 141-142).

H. Metal Objects:

(i) Gold

Mitra found five gold objects. One is a tiny piece of a leaf, and two are very thin leaves probably used as a covering for some other objects. The remaining two are of outstanding interest. One serves as a coating for a shell, which may have been used as an amulet. The other is a fine wire apparently fashioned by a flattish band entwined cablewise. This specimen presumably served as a ring for the ear or nose (p. 143-144).

(ii) Silver

A single silver bead was found (p. 144).

(iii) Copper

Forty-seven copper objects, of which one is a bead, were collected from the excavation. Out of these, six are rings. Three are fairly well preserved. The remaining three are badly worn thin fragments. A small lenticular cast piece has a symbol resembling the Brahmi letter *ma*. There are eight fragments; most of them are antimony-rods. Two of the fragments may have been pieces of bangle, and the remaining copper objects are mere shapeless fragments (p. 144). (Pl. 17)

(iv) Bronze

The bronze objects are three in number. One is featureless rim and a portion of the neck of a vase. The second is the fragment of a small shallow bowl and the third is a piece of wire, like that of a large bangle (p. 145).

(v) Iron

Mitra collected 213 iron objects in her excavation. The objects include nails, two hooks, five chisels, two spearheads, two arrowheads, one small dagger, one long heavy bar with ring-like ends, one link (?) of a chain and one fragment of a hollow tubular object. The rest either are badly rusted or coated with earth. Several of them are fragments of nails. A few fragments of flat wide bands appear to be parts of a borer. A fragment with an elongated conical shank, pointed at one end and bifurcated at the other, may have been part of a door-ring. A small fragment of an object has a nail attached to it. (Pl. 18)

Mitra assumes that the large number of nails indicates copious wooden structures or constructions. These nails are of manifold sizes. The hooks are small and of circular section, with one end flattened. The longest chisel is a round bar, tapering gradually from the top and with slightly sloping sides, and has a splayed double-slope cutting edge. Another one has the same type of cutting edge but with a smaller width near the top and slightly sloping sides. Its maximum thickness is near the middle part.

The remaining specimen, with a smaller width near the top and a splayed crescent-shaped cutting edge, is badly corroded. Two spearheads, both with leaf-shaped heads, an arrowhead of similar shape and an unusual type of heavy rod which may have been part of a heavy chain for strong animals like the elephant were also found in the trench (p. 147-148). (Pl. 19)

I. Bone and ivory objects:

Mitra found 23 miscellaneous bone objects, most of them fragmentary. A correct identification is not possible in a few cases in the absence of both ends. Four arrowheads of three varieties- (i) with both ends pointed (ii) with an elongated conical point and (iii) with a trilateral point- are of bone. Five fragments look like styli; of them, four small pieces may have been part of arrowheads. Two fragments are part of cap-like sockets, and five of antimony-rods. None of them preserve both ends. The tubular blocks have a circular perforation, but they cannot be regarded as beads. There are two fragments of discs and a long cylindrical object of indeterminate use. The remaining bone objects are fragments of a small ball.

The number of ivory objects is seven, of which six appear to have been fragments of styli. The remaining one is curved like the tusk of an elephant. Twenty-one surface finds of bone and ivory are small bits of either styli or arrowheads (p. 152-153). (Pl. 20)

J. Glass objects:

Eight glass objects, all fragments, were found in the excavation. Except one tiny flat piece of transparent bluish-green glass, all are opaque black. Five of them, if not all, are definitely pieces of small shallow bowls (p. 154)

K. Roof tiles:

In the rampart filling, Mitra encountered terra-cotta roof tiles. As they were fragmentary, she was unable to determine their full length or breadth. Some tiles were indifferently baked, while others were well burnt. A profuse quantity of husk was often used in the matrix (p. 155) (Mitra, 1-155: 1972).

Discussion:

Devala Mitra's excavation at Tilaurakot was praiseworthy. She studied the artifacts in detail, whether from the excavation or the surface. The number of artifacts discovered in a small trench at the fortification area indicates the richness of the site. Her general observations and conclusions created some confusion as to the identification of the site. She herself realized the restricted extent of the trench and the limited time frame.

Unfortunately during a single season only "a small trench across the fortification" could be excavated. This small trench, TLK-1, was situated in the north-west curve of the walled area and measured 32 m long and 6 m wide (p. 11). The maximum height of the deposits from the natural soil to the highest point of the brick fortification was 3.9 m, and the habitation deposit only 1.5 m high (p. 14). Mitra divided the deposits into three main phases, IA & IB, pre-fortification; II, mud rampart; and III, brick fortification. Any attempted re-analysis of the ceramics and their distributions within this sequence using Mitra's ceramic report is almost impossible, since she divided the ceramics into only two categories, shards from Period I, and later shards from the two surface layers (p.16). This was done because, as she suggested, the presence of phase I shards in rampart construction phases II and III was purely due to their later mixing. Northern Black Polished Ware was recovered from phase IA and IB, and presumably phases II & III, of the sequence (p. 18). "Normally one would ascribe this ceramic, and its deposits, a date of between the sixth century and second century BC" (Cunningham, 14: 1997). Mitra assigns a much later date, stating, "in the present context it is certainly not earlier than the third century BC and is most probably not later than the second century BC" (p.18). She suggested this later date because of the presence of a single inscribed shard, - a single example that may have been of an intrusive nature. A further ceramic category recovered from phase I was classified as "grey ware" by Mitra (p. 23). Mainly in the form of *thalis*, a number of examples had black painted bands, dots and strokes, causing Mitra to write: "These indifferently-painted sherds found in association with the Northern Black Polished Ware cannot be assigned to a distinctly pre-NBP Ware phase, but the possibility of finding classic examples of Painted Grey Ware or of isolating its pre-NBP Ware phase elsewhere, if not on the site, cannot be entirely ruled out" (p. 23).

The contemporaneous nature of these two categories of ceramics cannot be established at the site since no tables were published giving their distribution within the excavated layers. It is quite possible that the latter sherds represent a localized form of Painted Grey Ware, which can be assigned a date of between the 9th and 7th century BC (Cunningham, 17: 1997) and that they derived from earlier deposits. S.B. Deo's excavation at Banjarahi, about nine kilometres south-east of Lumbini, also yielded Grey Ware:
As the excavation was of a limited nature, no extensive evidence to determine the Periods of occupation precisely was expected. Therefore, the habitational Periods had to be differentiated mostly on the evidence of ceramic sequence. The Grey Ware characterized period IA. Though there were only two sherds with traces of painting in black, together with the entire unpainted collection, showed exact identity with those from Hastinapur. The dates for the Grey Ware at Hastinapur could be *circa* 1100 to 800 B.C. according to the excavator of the site, though the dates have not been accepted fully by all. The Grey Ware at Bajarahi showed an overlap with the N.B.P. Ware and as such could not be dated to *circa* 1100 B.C. It would be better, however, to assign it a period of about the 7th–6th century B.C., or a bit later, as it was more abundant in the lowest horizons of Period IA than in the upper levels of the same period (Deo, 4-5, 1968).

Mitra summarized her finding by suggesting that the presence of Northern Black Polished Ware at the site suggested that the latter may have been occupied as early as the 6th century B.C. but not in the area of the trench, that there was no occupation in the post-Christian era, and that the structures exposed on the surface by Mukherji were likely to be Mediaeval in date (p. 15).

Unfortunately, due to the location of Mitra's trench in mixed deposits on the city wall, in combination with the diminutive size of the trench, it was impossible to deliver a sound scientific summary of the sequence and chronology of Tilaurakot (Cunningham, 17: 1997).

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6. Cunningham, R. & Schmidt, A. 1997 NOMINATION OF TILAURAKOT AND RAMAGRAMA AS PART OF A SERIAL NOMINATION OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE LIFE OF THE The Buddha, Report and Recommendations of a UNESCO Mission, In Collaboration with HMG/DoA, AND LDT. 1st September-28th September 1997 (Unpublished).
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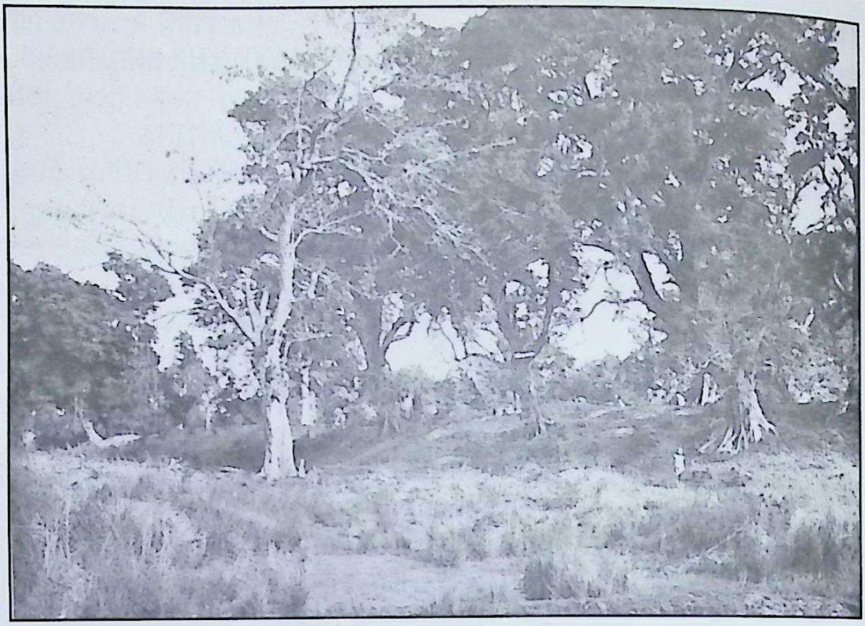
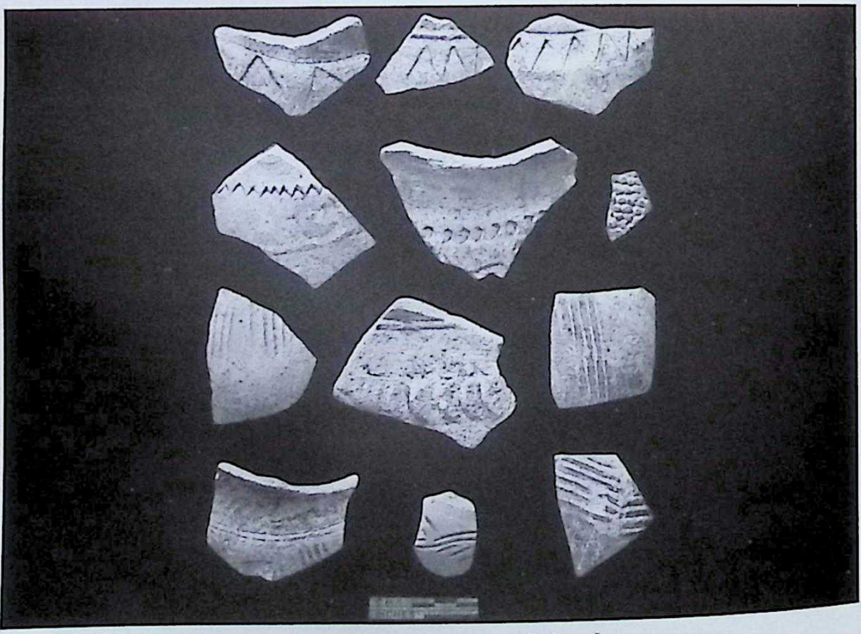
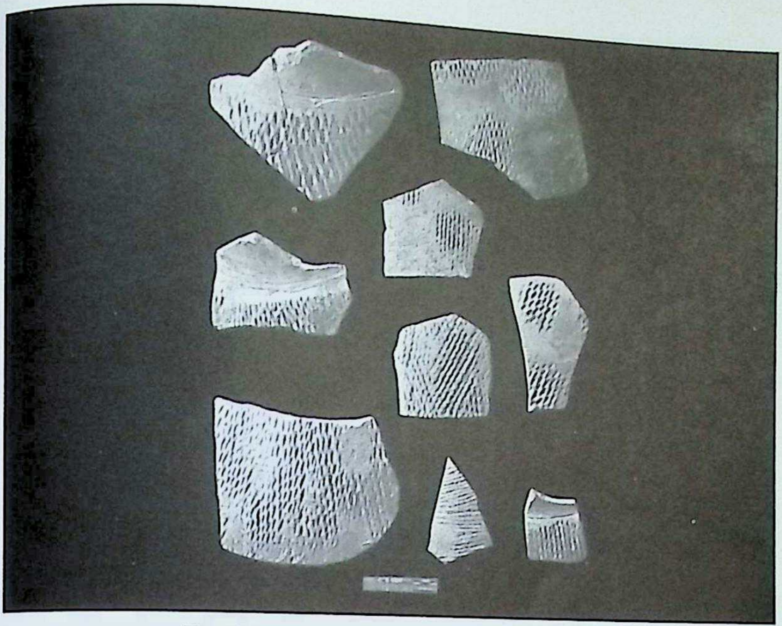


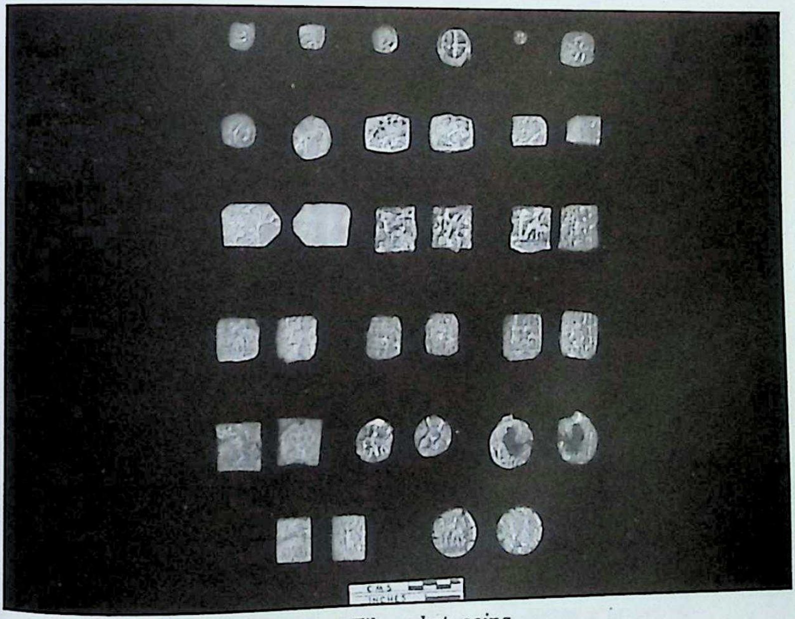
Pl. 1 *Tilaurakot, northern rampart*



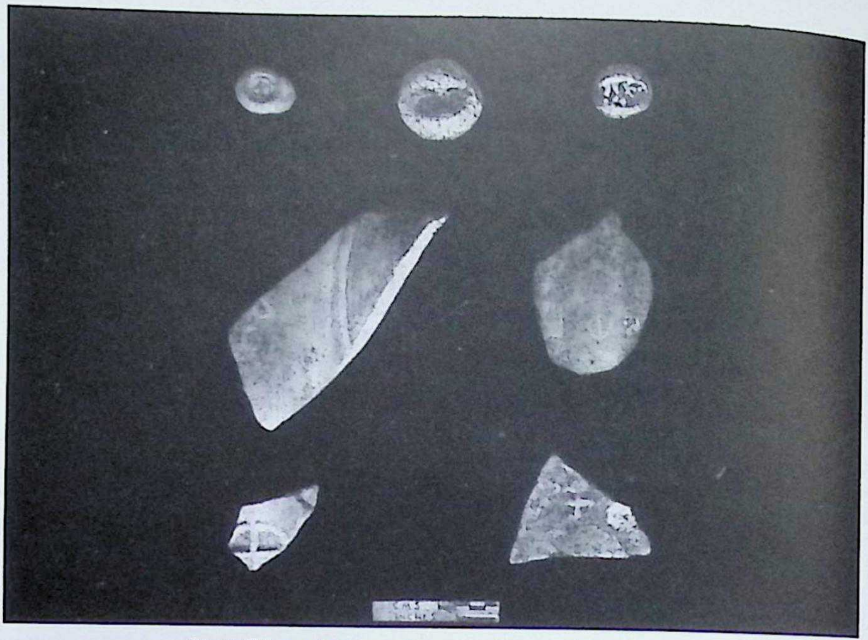
Pl. 2 *Tilaurakot: impressed sherds*



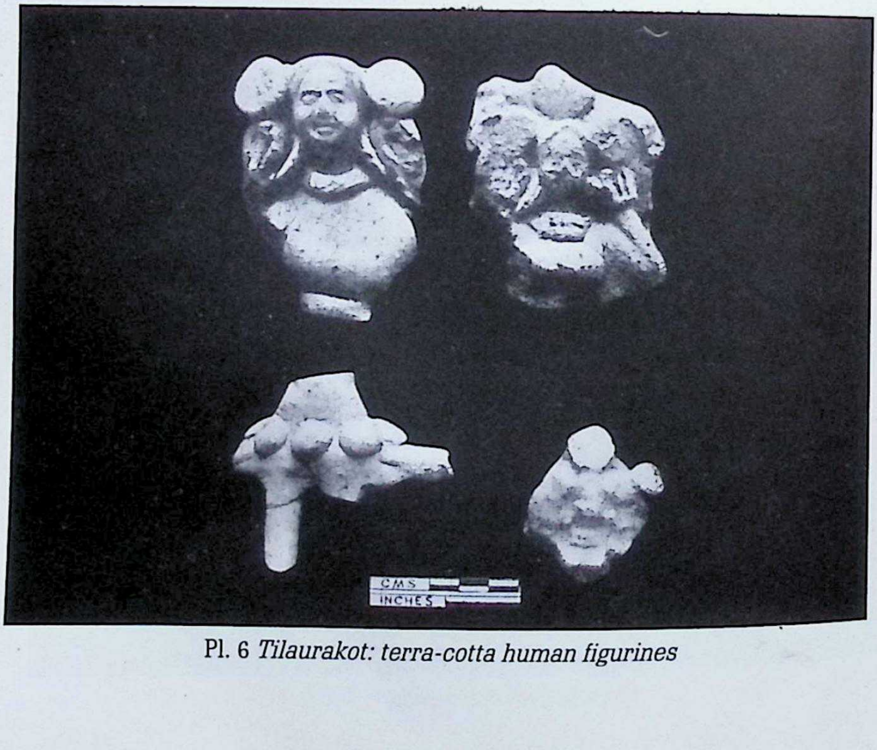
Pl. 3 *Tilaurakot: incised and decorated sherds*



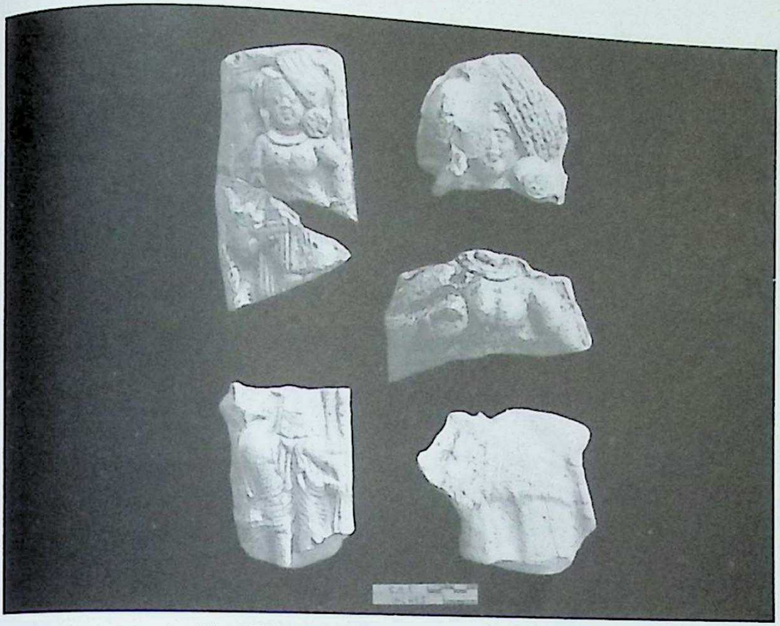
Pl. 4 *Tilaurakot: coins*



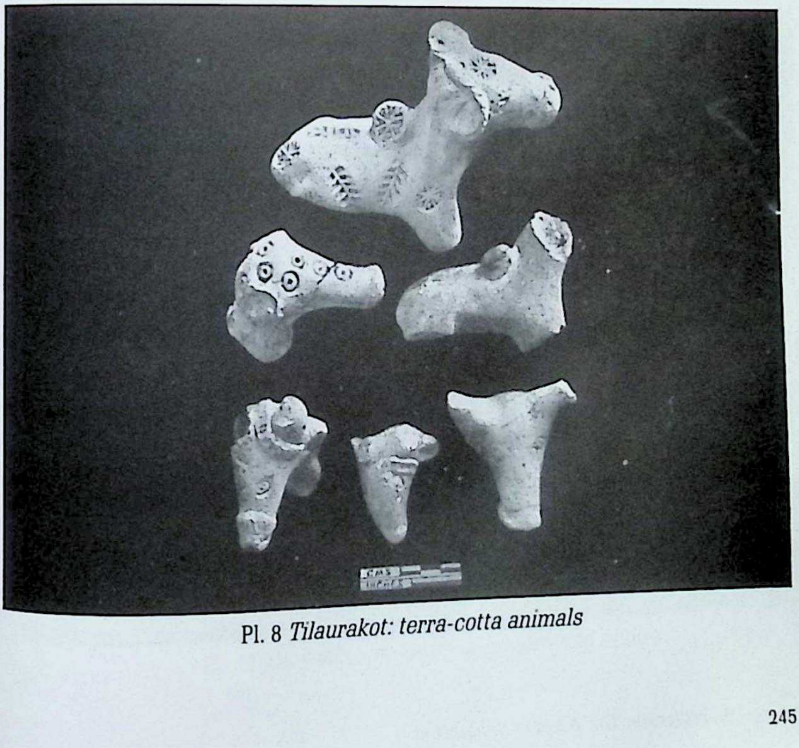
Pl. 5 *Tilaurakot: sealings and inscribed sherds*



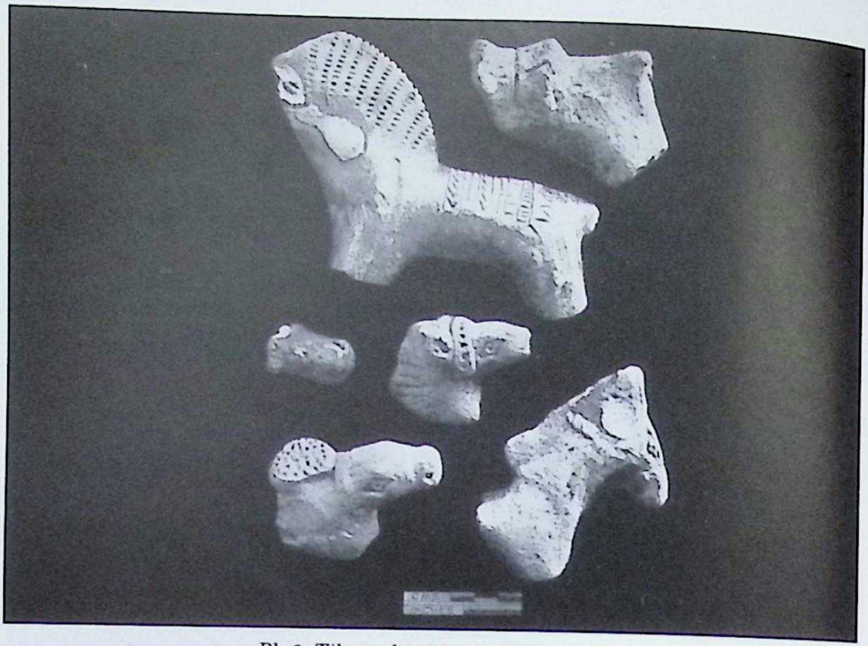
Pl. 6 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta human figurines*



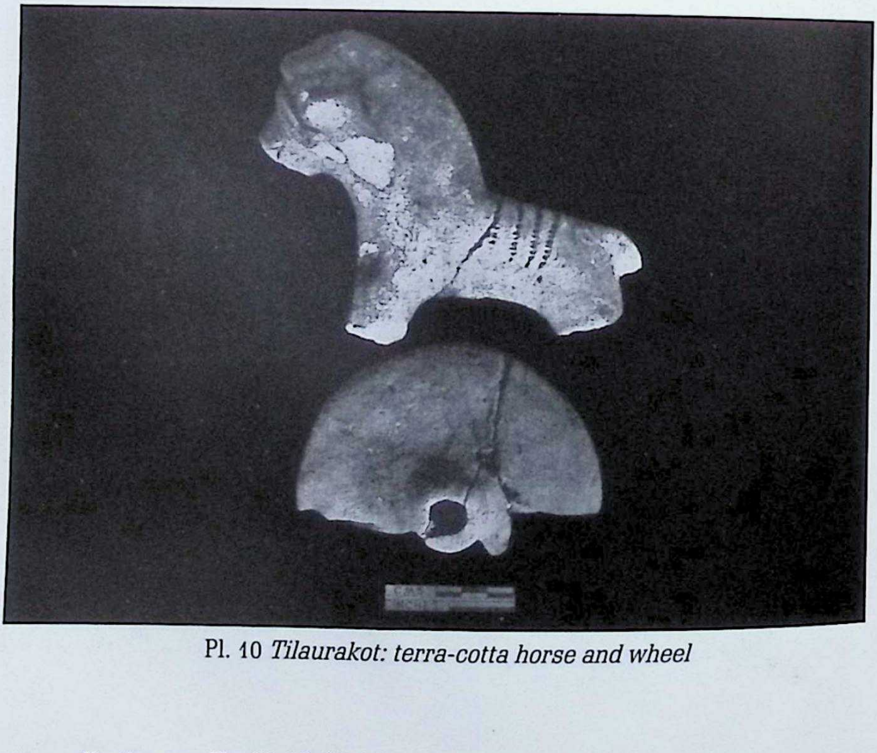
Pl. 7 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta human figurines*



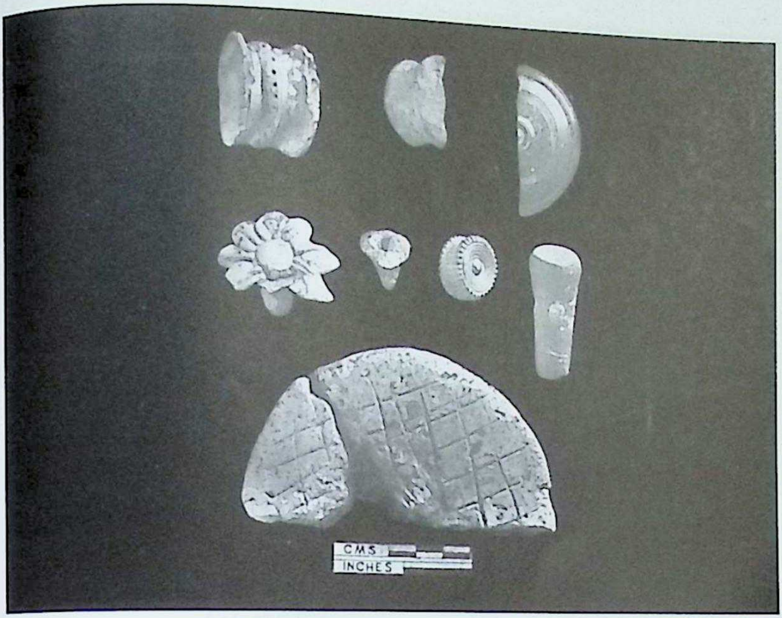
Pl. 8 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta animals*



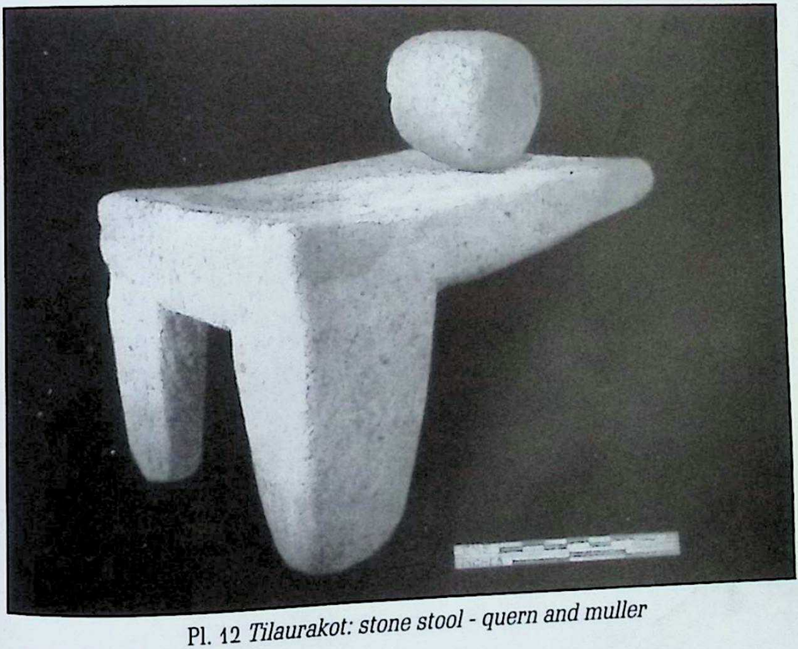
Pl. 9 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta horses*



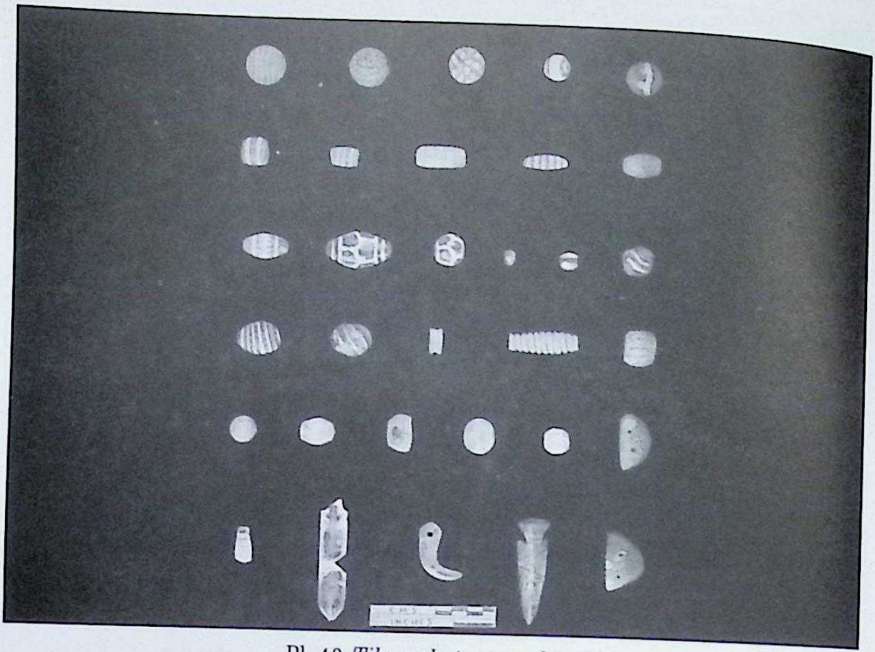
Pl. 10 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta horse and wheel*



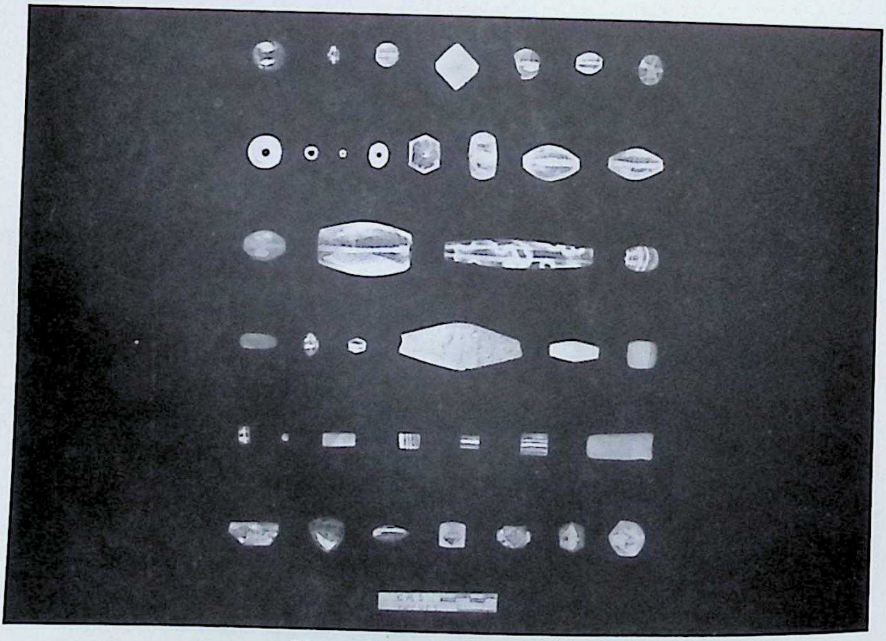
Pl. 11 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta micellaneous objects*



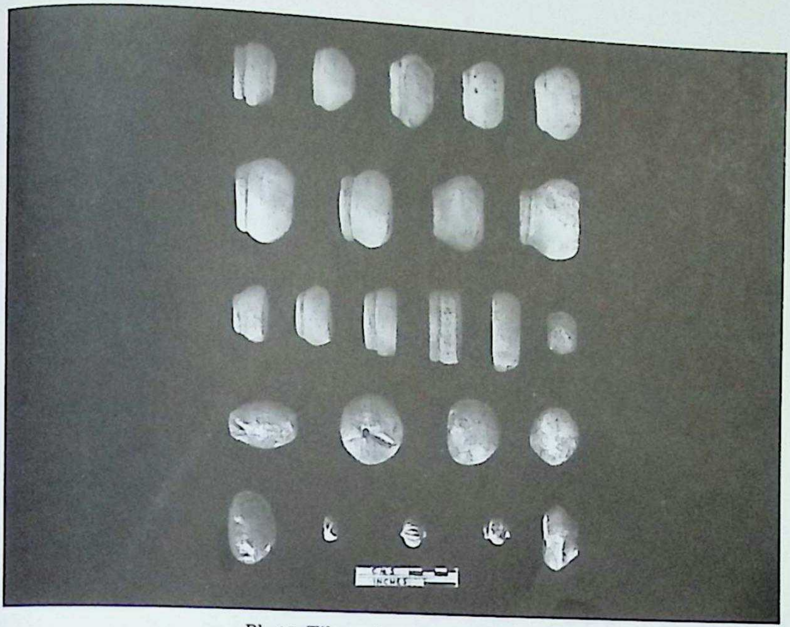
Pl. 12 *Tilaurakot: stone stool - quern and muller*



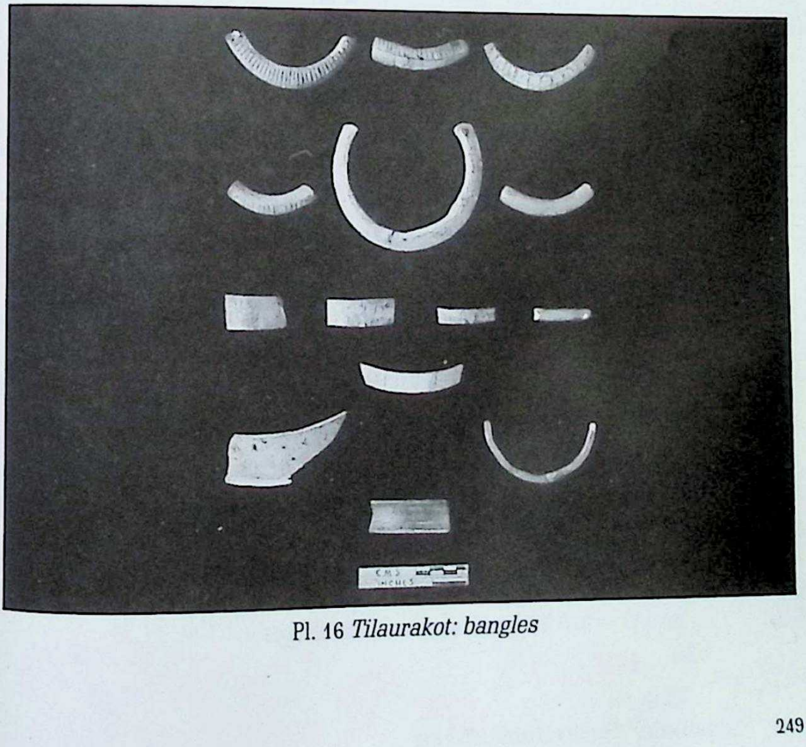
Pl. 13 *Tilaurakot: stone beads*



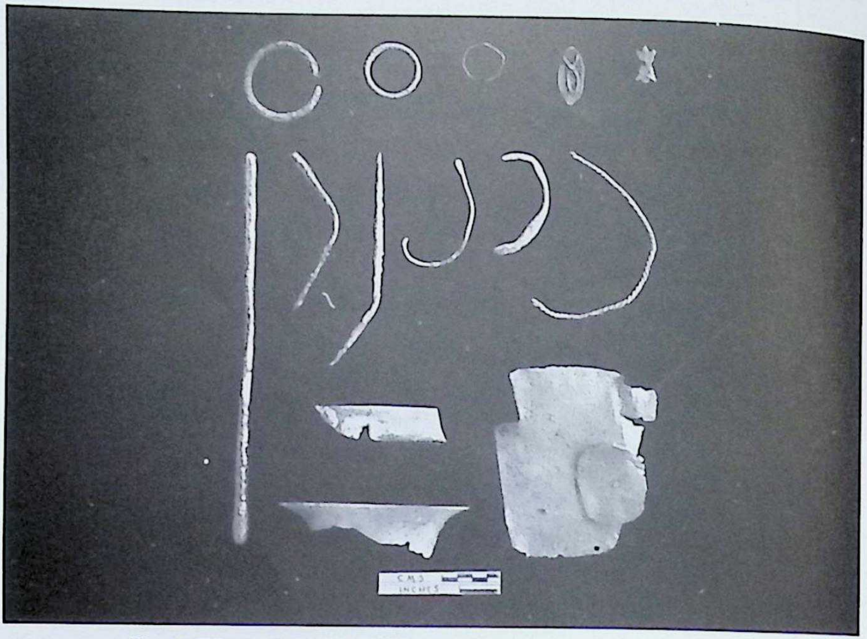
Pl. 14 *Tilaurakot: stone beads*



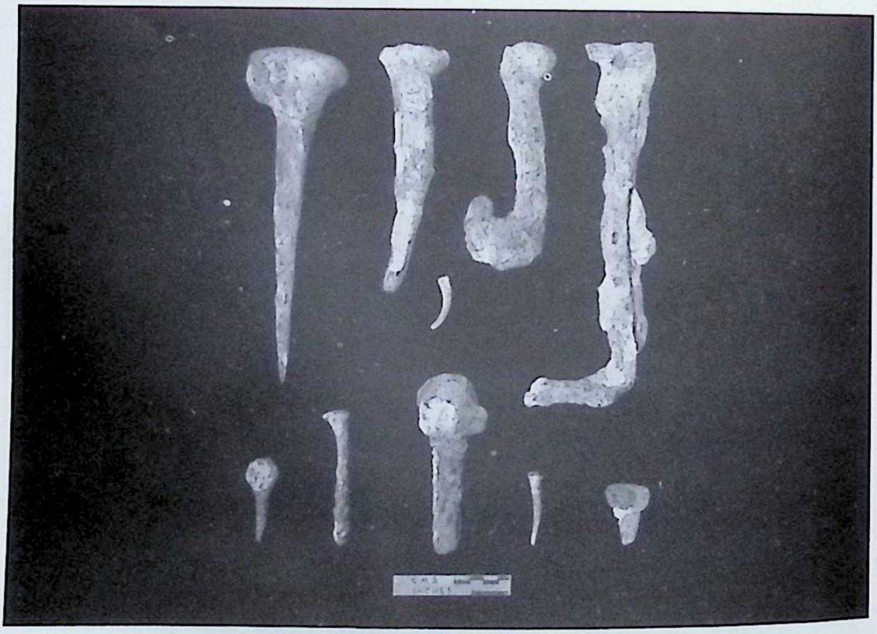
Pl. 15 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta beads*



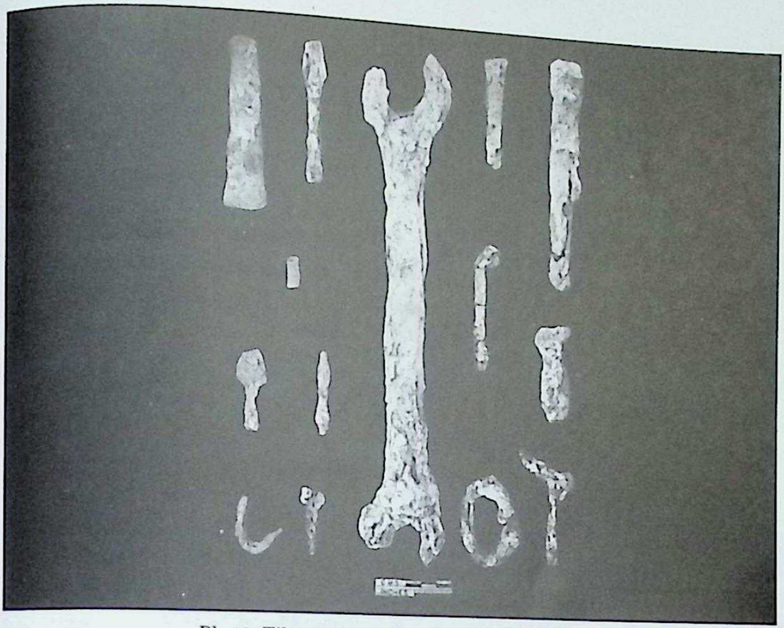
Pl. 16 *Tilaurakot: bangles*



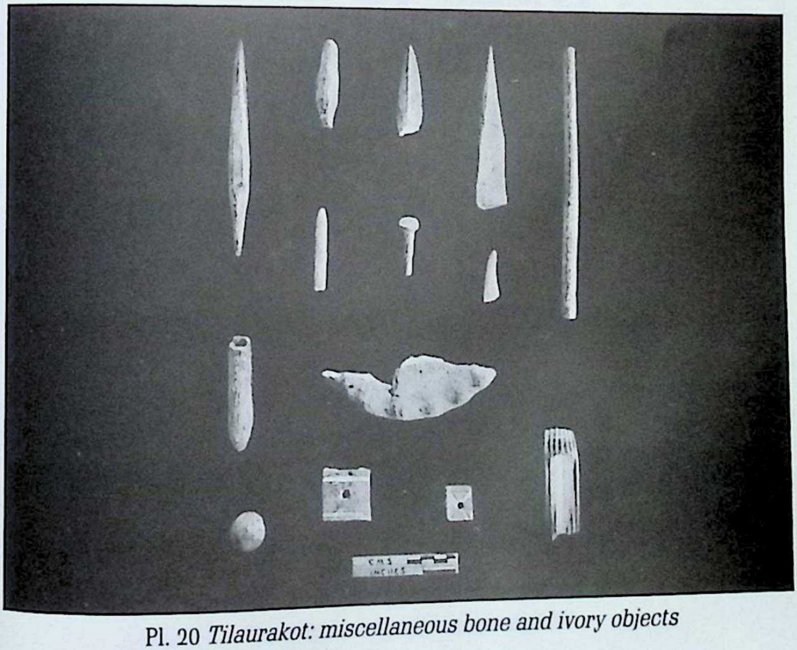
Pl. 17 *Tilaurakot: miscellaneous copper and bronze objects*



Pl. 18 *Tilaurakot: iron objects*

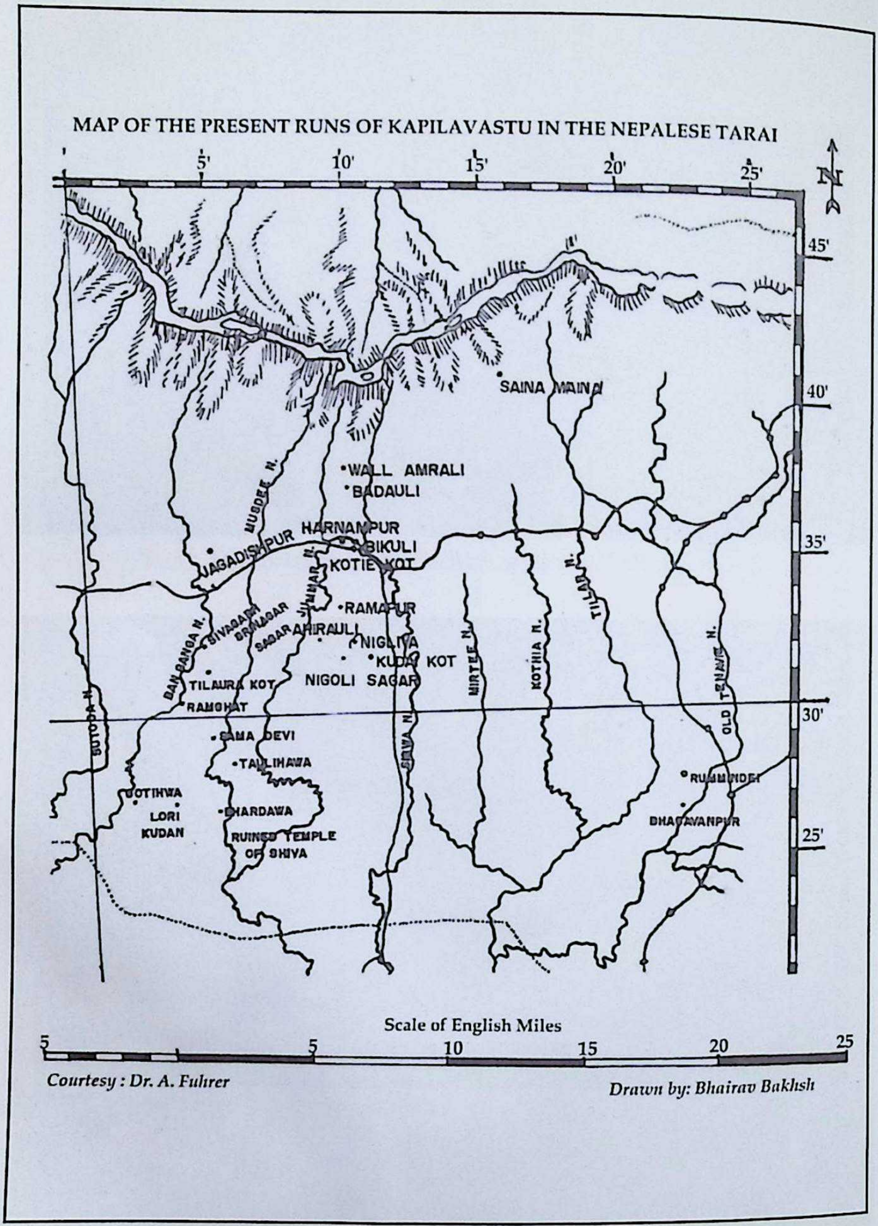


Pl. 19 *Tilaurakot: miscellaneous iron objects*



Pl. 20 *Tilaurakot: miscellaneous bone and ivory objects*

Skt. 1

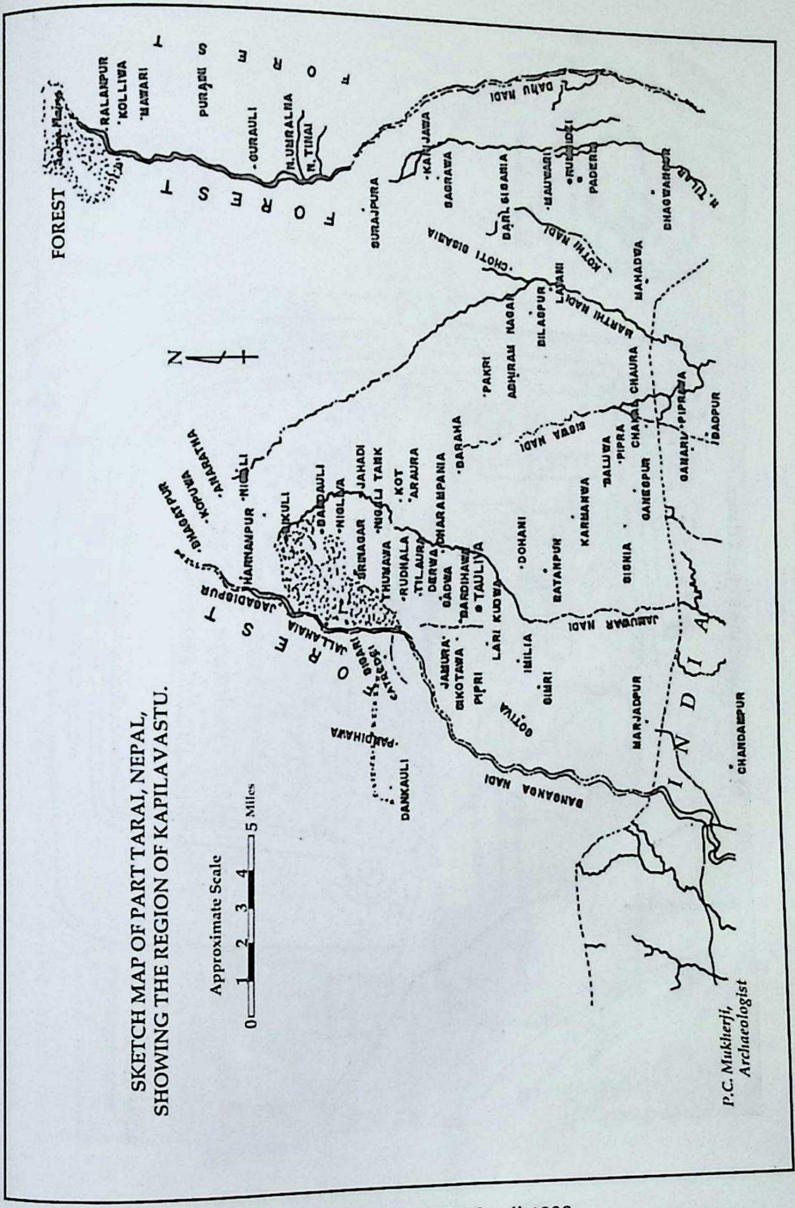

MAP OF THE PRESENT RUNS OF KAPILAVASTU IN THE NEPALESE TARAI
5'
10'
15'
20'
25'
N
45'
40'
35'
30'
25'
SAINA MAINA
WALL AMRALI
BADAULI
MUSDEE N.
HARNAMPUR
JAGADISHPUR
SIBIKULI
KOTIE KOT
JIMMAR N.
RAMAPUR
SIVASAGAR
SRINAGAR
SAGAR
AHIRAULI
NIGLIVA
KUDAN KOT
NIGOLI SAGAR
BAN GANGA N.
TILAURA KOT
RAMGHAT
SUTODA N.
SAMA DEVI
TAULIHAWA
GOTIHWA
LORI KUDAN
DHARDAWA
RUINED TEMPLE OF SHIVA
SIWA N.
MIRTEE N.
KOTHIA N.
TILAR N.
OLD TENAVE N.
RUMMINDEI
BHAGAVANPUR
Scale of English Miles
5
5
10
15
20
25

Courtesy : Dr. A. Fuhrer

Drawn by: Bhairav Bakhsh

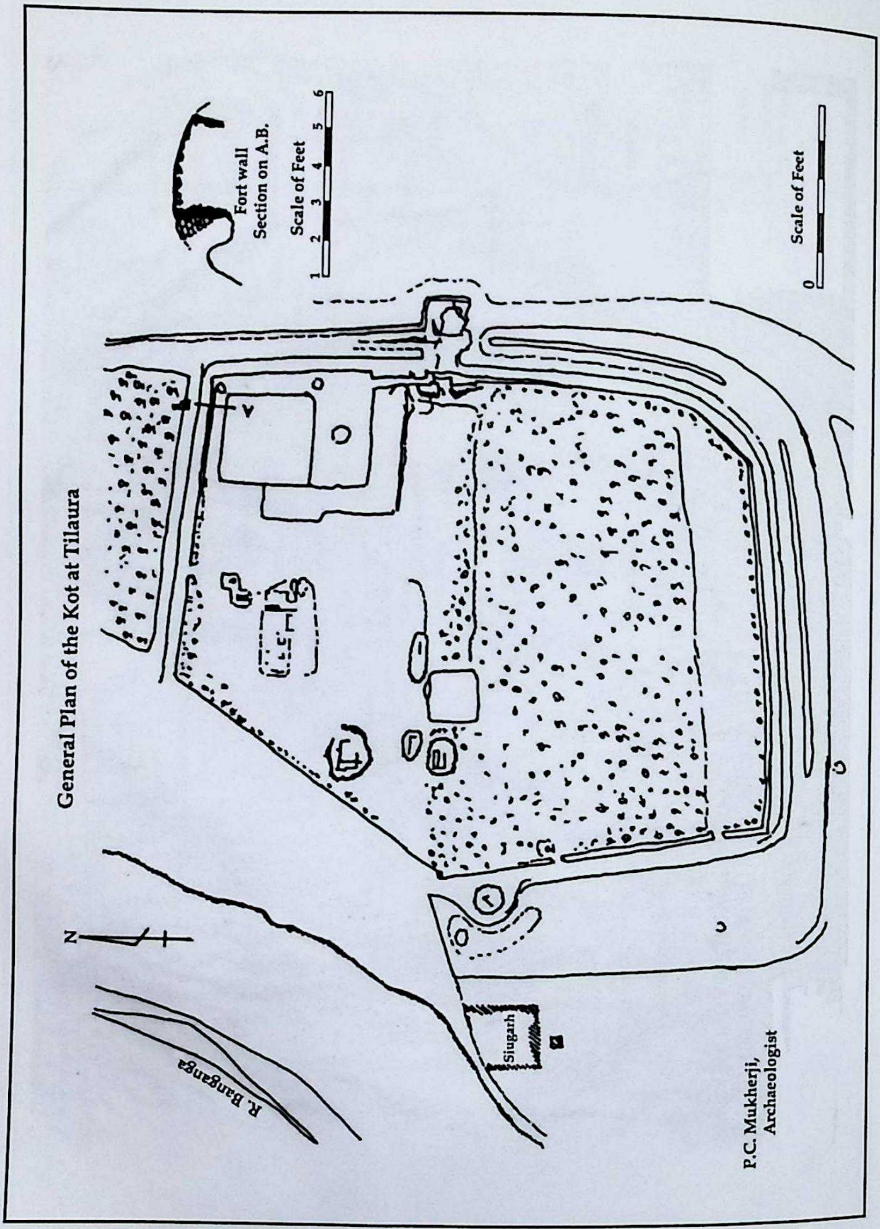
Explorations of Dr. Fuhrer 1895-96

Skt. 2


SKETCH MAP OF PART TARAI, NEPAL, SHOWING THE REGION OF KAPILAVASTU.
Approximate Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles
N
FOREST
F O R E S T
F O R E S T
F O R E S T
I N D I A
KOLLIWA
PURANI S
GURAULI
SURAJPURA
KANJAWA
SAGRAWA
BARI SISANIA
PADERIA
DHAGWARIPUR
DAHU NADI
CHOTI SISANIA
KOTHI NADI
MAHADWA
BILASPUR
LAKANI
MARTHI NADI
PAKRI
ASHRAM NAGAR
CHAURA
PIPRAWA
BADPUR
GANARI
SISWA NADI
PIPRA
BALUWA
GANESPUR
KARMAWA
SISNIA
RATANPUR
DOHANI
JAMUWAR NADI
BARANA
CHARAMPANIA
ARAURA
KOT
NIGALI TANK
JAHADI
NIGLIVA
SRINAGAR
THUMAWA
RUDHALA
TILAURA
DERWA
SADWA
BARDIHAWA
TAULIVA
LARI KUDWA
IMILIA
GIMRI
JAMURA
GIKOTAWA
PIPRI
GOTIVA
BANGANGA NADI
MARJADPUR
CHANDARPUR
DANKAULI
PANDIHAWA
JALLARAIA
JAGADISPUR
HARNAMPUR
NIGLI
AMARATHA
KOPUWA
BHAGATPUR
P.C. Mukherji, Archaeologist

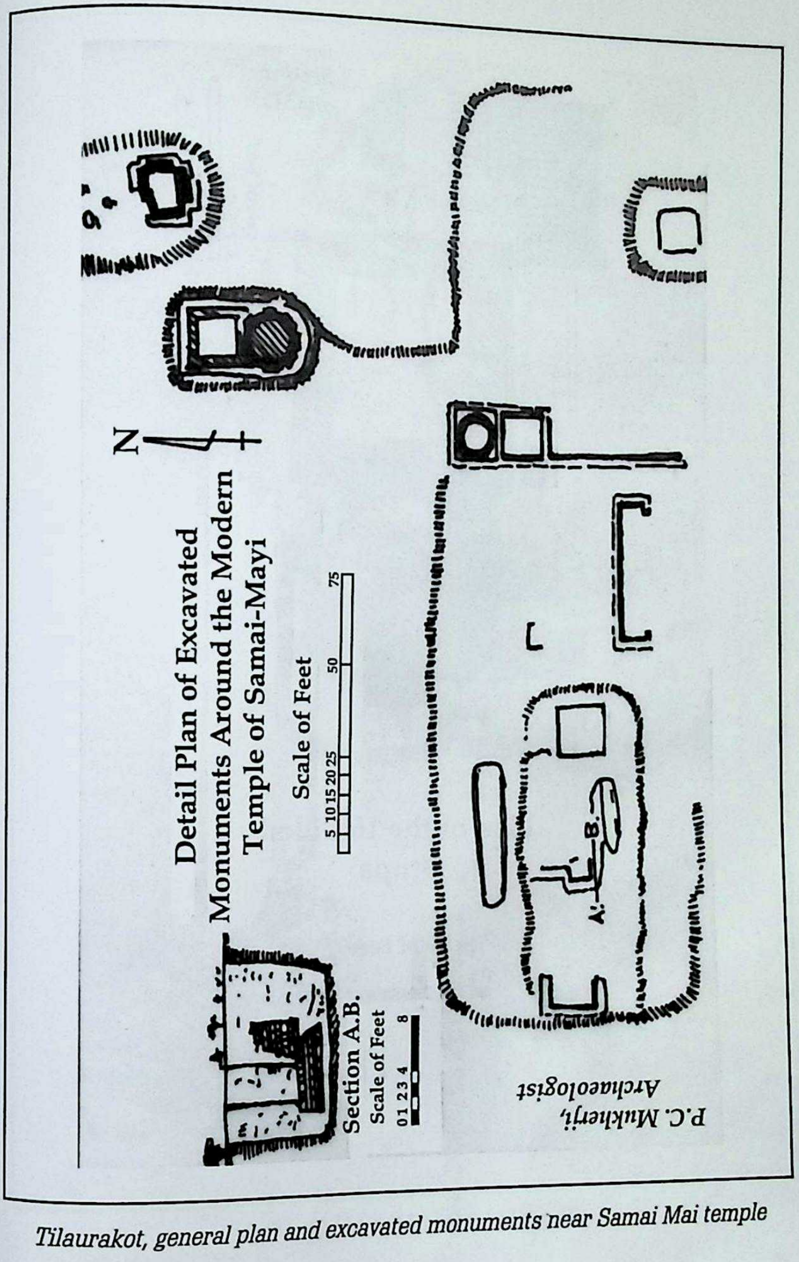
Explorations of PC Mukherji 1899

Skt. 3


General Plan of the Kot at Tilaura
Fort wall
Section on A.B.
Scale of Feet
1 2 3 4 5 6
Scale of Feet
0
A
N
R. Banganga
Siugarh
P.C. Mukherji,
Archaeologist

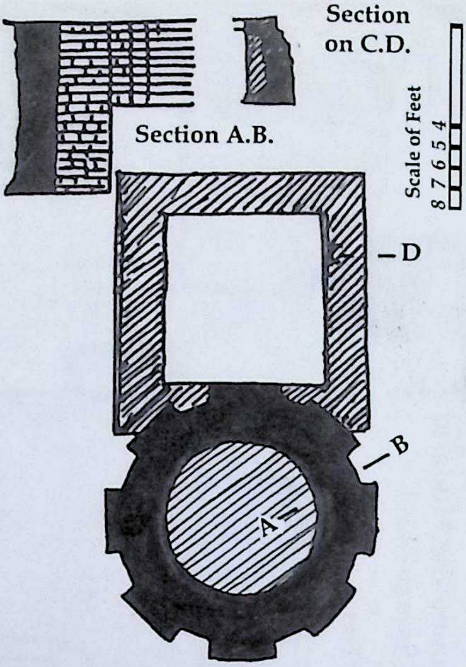
Tilaurakot, general plan 1899

Skt. 4


Detail Plan of Excavated Monuments Around the Modern Temple of Samai-Mayi
N
Scale of Feet
5 10 15 20 25 50 75
Section A.B.
Scale of Feet
0 1 2 3 4 8
A.
B.
P.C. Mukherji,
Archaeologist

Tilaurakot, general plan and excavated monuments near Samai Mai temple

Skt. 5


Section
on C.D.
Section A.B.
Scale of Feet
8 7 6 5 4
D
B
A

Plan of the 16-Sided Stupa

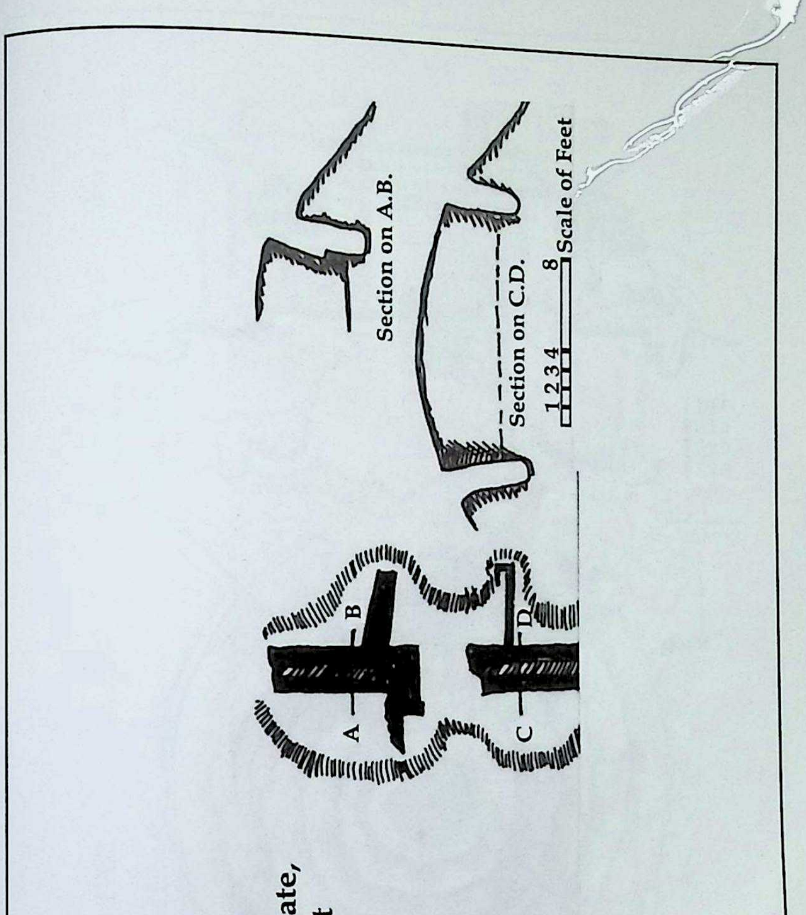
Scale of Feet

0 1 2 3 4 8

P.C. Mukherji,
Archaeologist

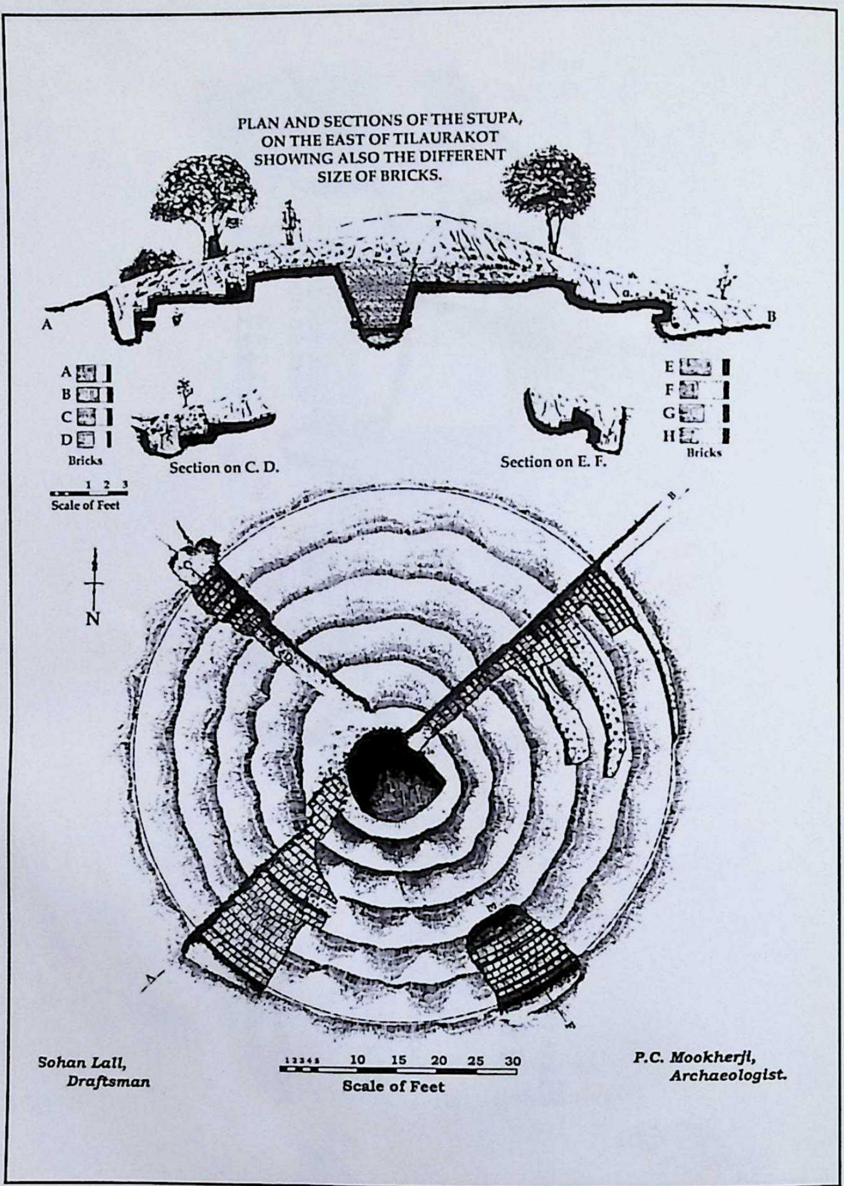
Tilaurakot, plan of the 16 sided stups

Skt. 6


Plan of East Gate,
Tilaura-Kot
Scale of Feet
5 10 15 20 25 50
P.C. Mukherji,
Archaeologist
A
B
C
D
Section on A.B.
Section on C.D.
1 2 3 4 8
Scale of Feet

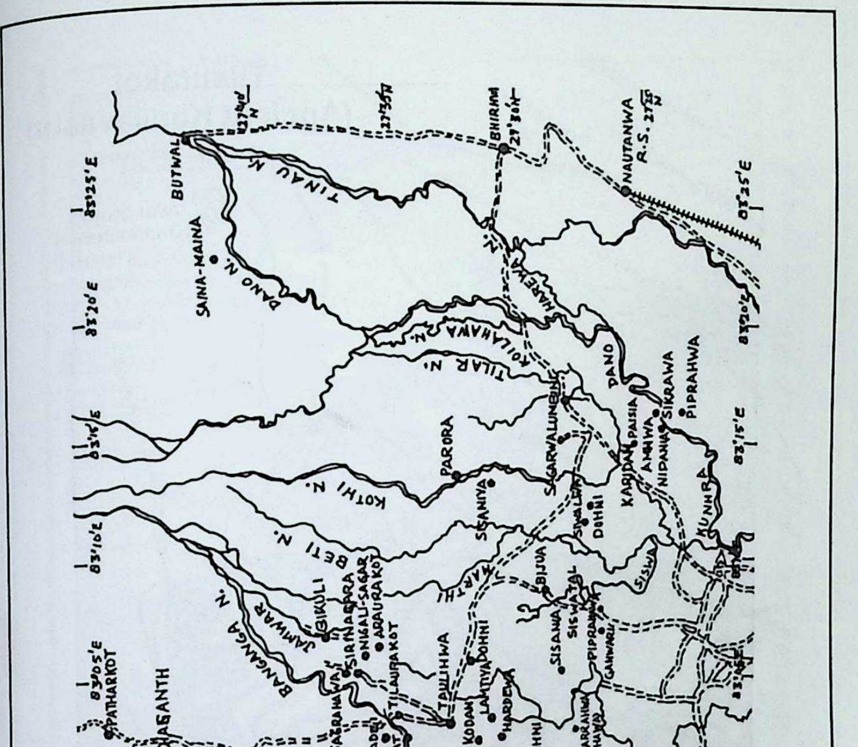
Tilaurakot, plan of the east gate

Skt. 7


PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE STUPA,
ON THE EAST OF TILAURAKOT
SHOWING ALSO THE DIFFERENT
SIZE OF BRICKS.
A
B
A
B
C
D
Bricks
Section on C. D.
Section on E. F.
E
F
G
H
Bricks
1 2 3
Scale of Feet
N
B
A
Sohan Lall,
Draftsman
1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 25 30
Scale of Feet
P.C. Mookherji,
Archaeologist.

Tilaurakot, stupa east of the east gate

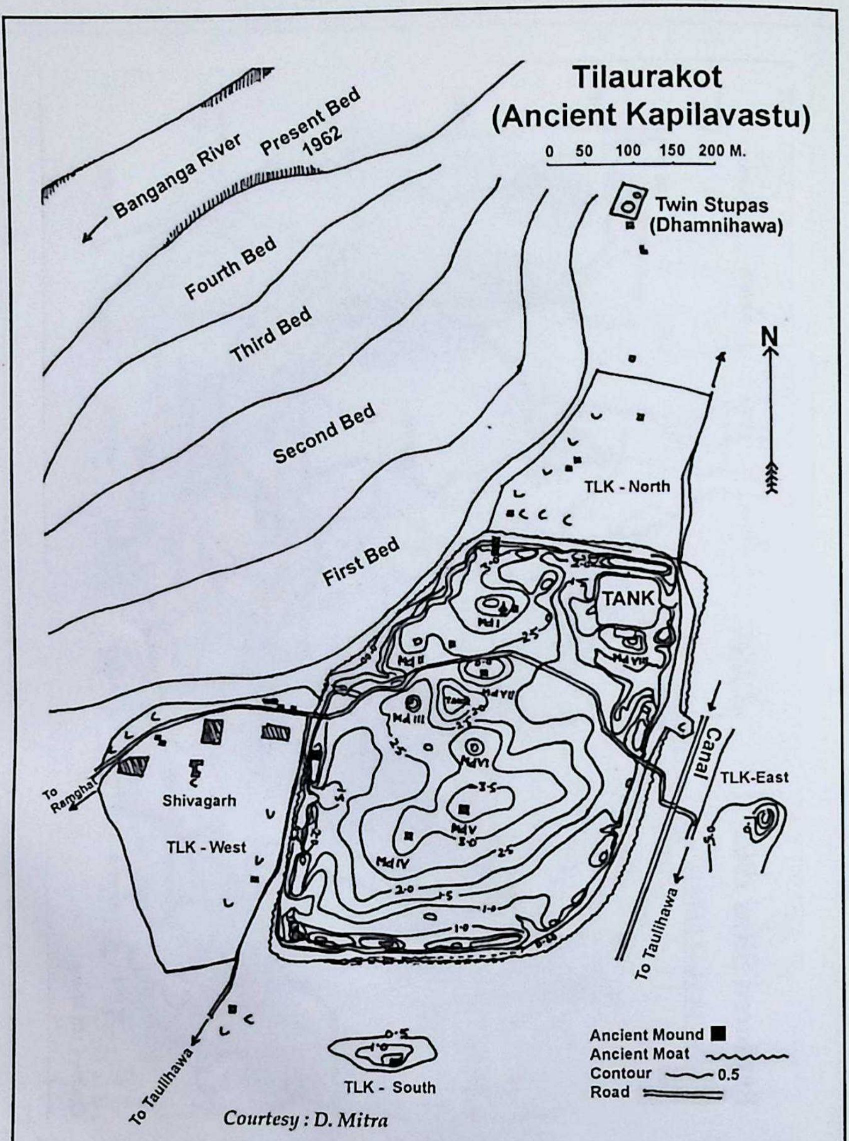
Skt. 8


Explored Sites 1962
Scale 10 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 K.M.
N
— 27'35 N
• Sonagarh
• Patna
27°30' N
27°25' N
27°35' N
27°30' N
27°40' N
27°25' N
82°50' E
82°55' E
83°00' E
83°05' E
83°10' E
83°15' E
83°20' E
83°25' E
BUTWAL
SAINA-MAINA
TINAU N.
DANO N.
BHIRWA
NAUTANWA R.S.
HAREWA N.
KOILAHAWA N.
TILAR N.
DANO
PIPRAHWA
SIKRAWA
PAISIA
AMHWA
NIPANIA
KARIDAH
KUNHRA
PARORA
KOTHI N.
SISANIYA
SAGARWA
SISWA
DOHNI
BETI N.
KARTHI
BIJUA
SISWA TAL
SISAWA
PIPRAHWA
GANWARIA
BIKULI
JAMWAR N.
BANGANGA N.
SIRINAGARA
NIGALI-SAGAR
ARAURAKOT
TAULIHWA
TILAURAKOT
SAGRAHAWA
PATHARKOT
CHAGANTH
CHATRADEI
RAMGHAT
PATKAHWA
PIPRI
KODAN
LAHTIYA DOHNI
HARDEWA
GOTIHAWA
BALDALHA
SIHOKHOR
BAMHNI
PARRAHWA
KAPZAHAWA
SHOHRATGARH R.S.

Courtesy : D. Mitra

Explorations of Debala Mitra 1962

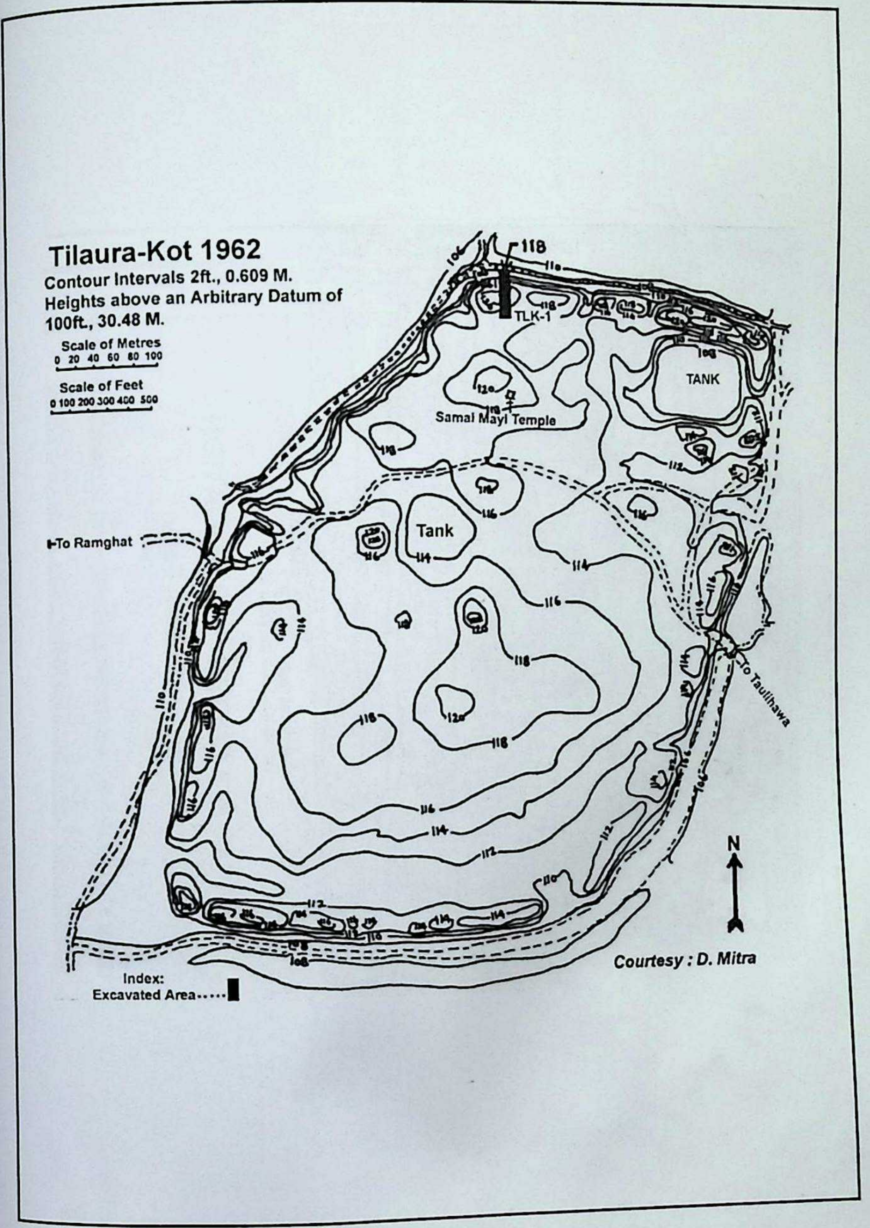
Skt. 9


Tilaurakot
(Ancient Kapilavastu)
0 50 100 150 200 M.
Banganga River
Present Bed 1962
Fourth Bed
Third Bed
Second Bed
First Bed
Twin Stupas
(Dhamnihawa)
N
TLK - North
TANK
Md I
Md II
Md III
Md IV
Md V
Md VI
Md VII
Md VIII
Canal
TLK-East
To Taulihawa
To Ramghat
Shivagarh
TLK - West
TLK - South
To Taulihawa
Ancient Mound ■
Ancient Moat
Contour 0.5
Road

Courtesy : D. Mitra

Tilaurakot, the site and river beds 1962

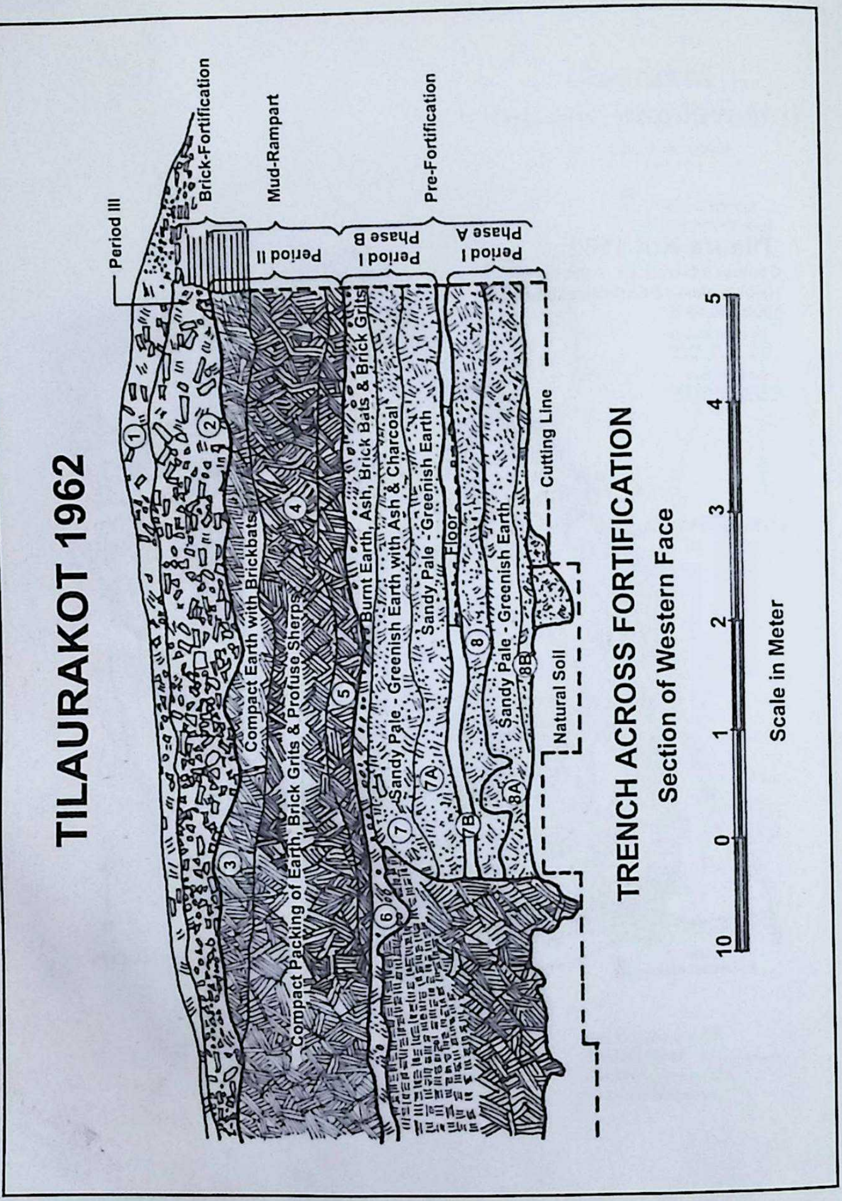
Skt. 10


Tilaura-Kot 1962
Contour Intervals 2ft., 0.609 M.
Heights above an Arbitrary Datum of 100ft., 30.48 M.
Scale of Metres
0 20 40 60 80 100
Scale of Feet
0 100 200 300 400 500
118
TLK-1
TANK
Samai Mayi Temple
Tank
To Ramghat
To Taulihawa
N
106
108
110
112
114
116
118
120
Index:
Excavated Area

Courtesy : D. Mitra

Tilaurakot, contour map of the site 1962

Skt. 11


TILAURAKOT 1962
Period III
Brick-Fortification
Mud-Rampart
Pre-Fortification
Period II
Period I Phase B
Period I Phase A
①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
⑦
7A
7B
⑧
8A
8B
Compact Earth with Brickbats
Compact Packing of Earth, Brick Grits & Profuse Sherps
Burnt Earth, Ash, Brick Bats & Brick Grits
Sandy Pale - Greenish Earth with Ash & Charcoal
Sandy Pale - Greenish Earth
Floor
Sandy Pale - Greenish Earth
Natural Soil
Cutting Line
TRENCH ACROSS FORTIFICATION
Section of Western Face
10
0
1
2
3
4
5
Scale in Meter

Tilaurakot, excavated trench and section 1962

CHAPTER 7

KAPILAVASTU

(The Ancient Sakya Kingdom, Part 3)

(This part of the paper is mainly based on the archaeological activities carried out by the Nepalese archaeologists, especially Tara Nanda Mishra and Babu Krishna Rijal, from the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal from 1967 on and by the Japanese archaeological team of the Rissho University, Japan, from 1967 to 1977.)

Nepalese archaeologists in Tilaurakot:

The Department of Archaeology did not agree with all the observations and conclusions made by Mrs. D. Mitra about the remains of Tilaurakot. Her precise conclusion was that "in the present context it is certainly not earlier than the third century B.C. and is most probably not later than second century B.C." (Mitra, 18: 1972). In 1967 the Department of Archaeology started excavation at the site with their own archaeologists to asssess the remains of the site. The excavation team led by Tara Nanda Mishra, the then senior archaeological officer from the Department of Archaeology started excavations. The excavations continued till 1969 and after a gap of two years were resumed in the year 1972.

Summary of the excavations of the years 1967-1972:

Mishra (1972) summarizes the result of the excavations from 1967 to 1972 as follows: "The site brought to light three periods and nine layers of depositions, the western gate-way complexes, existence of moat, three phases of defence walls, different periods of roads, and twin stupas on the north of the site, apart from unearthing a huge quantity of archaeological antiquities" (p. 8).

The cuttings, stratification and dates:

During the first year's excavation, a small trench was laid out before the Samai Mai temple. This trench yielded in its eastern portion a platform and plinth of a medieval temple and a Vishnu icon broken into two pieces. In the western part of the trench, vertical digging was carried out to ascertain the stratification of the site.

A long trench across the wall on the western side of the walled city, which later extended to the east, south, north and west, was laid out. Its purpose was to check the moat and to ascertain the position of the defence walls and moat and to locate the gateways on the western side of the site. The area of operation was 150 feet east-to-west and nearly 100 feet south-to-east.

In the course of exploration Mishra noticed some bricks and brickbats in the jungle about 500 metres north of the site of Tilaurakot. He even found a silver punch marked coin on the surface. When he cleared the overgrown from the area, he observed a circular monument-like structure. Later he excavated the site and discovered two stupas, one 26 feet in diameter and another 25 feet.

Mishra noticed nine layers of deposit at Tilaurakot. Layers 1 and 2 belonged to the Kushana period (*circa* 100-200 A.D.). From these layers he collected Kushana terra-cotta figurines, Kushana coins of different kings and Kushana pottery. Layers 3 and 4 belonged to the Sunga period (200-100 B.C.). These layers yielded beautifully moulded Sunga terra-cotta, early cast coins, Mitra coins (some even bearing the name of Agnimitra), beads of terra-cotta, semi-precious and ordinary stones and other datable objects. Layers 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 belonged to the Northern Black Polished Ware and late variety of Painted Grey Ware. Mishra assigns dates these layers to 700-300 B.C. (Skt. 1)

The defence walls:

Mishra excavated roughly in the central portion of the western wall at the western end of the site. This bore evidence of three different phases of defence walls. The first wall was made of clay; having possibly been dug nearest to the outside area, while at the same time the ditch was transformed into a moat.

The first phase mud wall, which was constructed over layer 9, can be dated to the 7th-6th centuries B.C. This date is postulated on the basis of Northern Black Polished Ware, Painted Grey Ware and associated Painted Red Ware pottery, which were found in layers 7 and 8 the dominent in this phase of the rampart. The second phase of the defence wall were made of yellowish clay and built around 200 B.C. Layers 4 and 5 strike it. A burnt brick wall was provided for it on the outer toe of this wall to protect the mud rampart from the water of the moat. There were a large number of potsherds of Painted Grey Ware, Northern Black Polished Ware and Sunga pottery. A third wall was erected just over the basement and outer toe of the 2nd phase of the mud rampart. It was made of bricks and brickbats in yellowish mud mortar. This phase Mishra dated to 150 B.C., since it was found based on layer 4, while its contemporary layer was 3. In layer 2 he noticed that the same brick wall had been slightly repaired. The walls were surrounded from the outside by a deep moat, which was probably fed by the water of the river Banganga.

The western gateway:

During the excavation, Mishra exposed the western gateway to the city. (Skt. 2) In the first phase, layer 8, it had rammed floors with postholes flanking the passage (in the east-west direction) on the outer edges. In the second phase were encountered the brick arms that supported the massive wooden doors, whose remains took thein the shape of charred wood with a large number of flat pieces of iron and long iron nails. These remains are scattered among three different phases. The first two phases belong to layers 3 and dated to 200-100 B.C., and third phase, to layer 2, dated to 100-200 A.D. In each phase there was evidence of at least three to six doors, indicating the degree of precaution taken for the security of the city. The first phase of construction resulted in five big gates and a door with an opening of 6 feet 3 inches within layer 4 in the nort side of the wall. In layer 3 there were five big gates, and in the layer 2 only three gates.

On either side of the gateways, brick bastions were made in layer 4 and repaired in all successive phases. To the south of the bastions ran two walls closely parallel, providing a means of climbing up to the first floor. No such walls were found on the north side. Thus it may be presumed that the northern and southern floors were connected on the first floor.

Watchman's room:

A room on the north by the side of the wall was dated to the Kushana period. Measuring 9 feet by 8 feet, it was probably a watchman's room the innermost projection of which was contemporary with layer 2. A single piece of terra-cotta (Mishra did not mention the exact artifact) from the Kushana period in layers 1 and 2 strikes and overlays the structure and thus dates from 200-150 A.D.

Roads:

Roads from the 7th-6th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. were discovered near the gateway within the city. The road of 2nd century B.C. was 19 feet broad and provided with a stone edge on both sides. There was also 8 inches of solling made with iron slag. The top was paved with bricks and brickbats. The traces of ancient wheel tracks 4 feet apart matched exactly modern bullock carts in the nearby village.

Brick platforms:

Two brick platforms in layer 4 were observed flanking the gateway belonging to the Sunga period. They were built in a single course of brick in plan and 7-8 courses of bricks in elevation. The central portions were filled with mud and possibly plastered with cow dung mixed with husks, and probably used as open shops on either side of the road.

Blacksmith's workshop:

To the left, near the southern defence wall, a workshop was found that contained a big clay oven. Two big water jars and fragments of two small copper pots, 12 early cast copper coins, two iron celts, two iron spades, an iron chisel and iron frying pan were among the items found near the oven. Mishra further mentions that the smith made weapons, agricultural tools, coins and household materials in the same workshop.

The stupas:

About 500 metres north of Tilaurakot at Dhamnihawa, Mishra excavated two stupas, which he named the Twin Stupas (actually a big and a small stupa) or jodi stupas in Nepali.

a. The big stupa

This stupa was 52 feet in diameter and 7½ feet in height from the surface. It was made in four phases. The first phase goes back to the 4th century B.C., when its diameter was 50 feet and 6 inches. This phase contains Northern Black Polished War, associated pottery and Grey Ware. In the second phase, one course of brick was added to the outer face, so that the diameter of the stupa became 52 feet. This phase was dated to 300 B.C. In the third phase, a semi-circular revetment of one course of brick, measuring 20 feet in length, was constructed on the southern side, possibly to protect the stupa from being affected by the Banganga River. In the fourth phase, the shape of the stupa was changed by the addition of four stepped niches in the four directions. Among these only the eastern and northern niches could be located. The rain probably washed the niches in the west and south away. From this phase Mishra found two punch marked coins, three pieces of early cast coins and a terra-cotta figurine of a mother and child of the Sunga period. No casket or relics were found in this stupa. (Pl. 1)

b. The small stupa

The small stupa was located nearly 15 feet north of the big stupa. This stupa was 26 feet in diameter and built within of only one phase. All the bricks of this stupa were wedge-shaped. Nothing was found in it. Mishra counted eight brick courses in the elevation. He believes that the stupa was possibly a votive type offered by some religious people between the 3rd and 4th phases of the big stupa. (Pl. 2)

The pottery:

The pottery from the layers 5 to 9 of the excavated ares are Painted Gray Ware, Northern Black Polished Ware, Black on Red Ware and chocolate-coloured shards. The clay of this pottery is very fine and well levigated. The pottery bears witness to a high degree of control over the firing and possibly the use of different types of firing techniques. Due to the good quality of firing, it producs a metallic sound. The Painted Grey Ware of the site has horizontal or vertical bands, criss-crossed, and irregular black dots over the grey surface.

The Northern Black Polished Ware pieces are thin, made of a good quality of clay, well baked and feature shades of black and silver. The polish at the surface has washed away and been reduced to a pale red.

The Black on Red Ware is very close to the Painted Grey Ware, except that it is either plain or has horizontally painted thick bands in chocolate or black. The types of pottery include dishes, lipped and unlipped basins, bowls, vases, water jars, vessels with mat-like designs and inkpot lids.

Pottery of layers 3 and 4 are all red-to-buff-red ware having a thick red slip. The clay and the firing are very fine. Among Tte potteries types are frying pans with a big handle, vases, inkpot lids and water jars, including a number of particularly big ones.

Layers 1 and 2 contain poorly fired red ware pottery having silt and mica on their surface. The main types are bowls, dishes, *handis*, big and small water jars, inkpot lids and water vessels with long and short spouts (some of them carved as crocodiles). Varieties of lug handles are also found in these layers.

Antiquities from the excavation:

Mishra reported that the antiquities from the excavation are very rich in quality and quantity. They include terra-cotta human and animal figurines, beads and coins.

Terra-cotta human figurines:

Mishra divided the terra-cotta human figurines into three categories according to the features and norms of the three different schools of art adopted by the people occupying the site, namely those of the Mauryas, Sungas and Kushanas.Male figures outnumber female figures.

a. Mauryan figurines

The Mauryan figurines were mostly handmade with big eyes and bear expressive faces, prominent noses and few ornaments. Decorations were added separately to the body. Sometimes such decorations were affixed with the help of wooden pins. Some female figurines appear only down to the breasts, below which they are cut flat. One female figurine is decorated with a discoid head ornament, heavy ear ornaments and simple necklaces around the neck. Another figure has an elongated face, prominent nose, big eyes, a circular ear ornament, one necklace and two beaded chains. Mishra collected these figurines from the layers 5, 6 and 7. All together there are seven Mauryan figurines from these layers. They were either red or smoky-coloured.

b. Sunga figurines

From the layers 3 and 4 were collected a large number of Sunga figurines. These figurines are all moulded, greatly ornamented and variously coiffured. Being moulded, they are not round, but flat and thin without backside decorations. Some of the figurines have a hole at the top, probably for hanging purposes. All the figures from this period have a red slip. Mishra observed a figurine with a circular mass of hair tied by a fillet, a mother and child and female feeding parrots. Duplicate pieces are found from the same moulds, sometimes also from smaller or bigger moulds.

c. Kushana figurines

From this period the art schools adopted the use of stone for their representations, and terra-cotta objects decreased. All the figurines are handmade, the clay being mixed with a lot of husks and poorly fired. The number of figurines is less than the Mauryan and Sunga find. They were taken from the upper layers of the site 1 and 2. and either wear fan-like headgear, or else there is a knot of hair tied over the head. The eyes and mouth are incised or dotted lines made with the help of wooden or bamboo pins. The female figures wear heavy ornaments in their ears. The figures are very crude in comparison to their Mauryan and Sunga counterparts. Mishra grouped the Kushana figurines into three categories: (i) terra-cotta, round and carved down to the foot (ii) some figures carrying oil lamps in their hand and (iii) the Negam type of terra-cotta. The last group does not have any details on the face, head, leg or trunk.

d. Animal figurine

Elephants, horses, rams, deer, bulls, cows and tigers represent the animal figurines collected from the excavation. They were made with fine clay and baked properly. Their colours are mostly red, but grey figurines with a grey slip occure. The figures from the layers 8 and 9 are shining black. Some of the figurines were meant to rest on wheels.

The figurines from the layers 5 to 7 are mostly plain. The legs and heads were made separately and joined to the body. The eyes and eyeholes were made with pins.

The figurines from layers 3 and 4 display more decorations, such as incised or dotted holes inside a rectangle, different types of stamped wheels and varieties of leaf designs. These have been stamped over the main body, thigh and tails. The most popular animals of this period were horses, elephants and rams, all highly decorated. A few birds, including ducks, hens and peacocks were also collected from the excavation.

Beads:

Circular, barrel, cylindrical, drum, nut, multiple-facetted and ghata-shaped beads made of terra-cotta, shell, glass, stone, stone paste or bone beads came to light during the excavation. The terra-cotta beads are either red or black; the glass beads either opaque or translucent black, faint blue, yellow, white or reddish. The stone beads are made of carnelian, banded or plain agate, chalcedony, cryst, garnet, amethyst or jasper. Straight, wavy or circular dotted bands or lines, zonal bands, pentagons and vertical or horizontal lines make up the motifs. Some of the bone beads are circularly or spirally grooved.

Bangles:

The bangles found during the excavation are made of terra-cotta, glass, copper, or thin or thick shell. The bangles from the layers 5 to 9 are painted with black pigments with circular or oblique lines. Some of them have circular and cross bands.

Coins:

Mishra collected from the site silver and copper punch-marked coins, silver-plated copper coins, early cast coins, die-struck coins with a straight or oblique cross, Mitra coins (some bearing the name of Agnimitra), and Kushana coins (from the remains of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka).

Stone objects:

Balls, decorated plates of soft stone, decorated pot fragments with lids of chalkstone, pieces of querns with or without legs, mullers and a flat piece of Mathura sandstone were the main stone finds of the excavation.

Metal objects:

The site yielded metal objects of silver, gold leaf, copper (rings, pots, antimonyrods, wheels, coins), bronze (pots), lead (nails and rings) and iron (nails with heads in large numbers, circular pieces possibly used for locking doors, flat iron fragments with nails, spade, celts, frying pans, chisels, arrowheads, fishing hooks and axes.)

Seals and sealing:

The seals and sealing were made either of terra-cotta or of chalkstone. They are four in number. A chalkstone seal found near the (western?) gateway has three letters in Brahmi script reading DABILASA (Dabilasya), a personal name. One terra-cotta sealing has three letters reading NEGAME. There are two more terra-cotta sealings and tokens, which Mishra could not read.

Miscellaneous objects:

Apart from the aforementioned objects, Mishra collected various miscellaneous objects from the excavation. They include terra-cotta balls, tiles (with or without perforation), discs (mostly made from broken pots, and sometimes decorated with incised oblique lines along the edges) and antimony rods of copper or bone have been found. Other find are terra-cotta ear-studs (decorated with floral designs and vertical bands), terra-cotta cart frames and wheels with or without hubs, terra-cotta dabbers of different sizes, bone points with single or double working heads, terra-cotta athletic figures in different positions and musical instruments of terra-cotta in the shape of miniature pots. Two different types of flesh rubbera (scrapers for cleaning flesh)- (i) flat and sharply pointed ones and (ii) solid cylindrical types with sharp vertical lines- and some circular jasper weights of different shape were also among the miscellaneous objects collected from the site (Mishra, 8-23: 1978).

Following Mishra, an excavation team led by Babu Krishna Rijal, the then chief archaeological officer from the Department of Archaeology, conducted various archaeological activities at Kapilavastu region from 1972-73 on. The major assignment for the season 1972-73 was to prepare a pictorial index catalogue of the archaeological sites of Kapilavastu region, detailed photographic documentation and explorations of the district. That season he extensively explored the region and brought to light more than thirty sites in and around Tilaurakot.

Rijal excavated in the peripheral area of Tilaurakot with a twofold aim, viz. (i) to ascertain the cultural sequence of the surrounding area of Tilaurakot, and (ii) to trace the structural remains of the monastic settlements of ancient Kapilavastu mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang and detected by P.C. Mukherji in 1899.

Subsequent to the excavation work, he carried out the conservation of two ancient stupas that were excavated by Mishra at Dhamnihawa.

Cuttings:

Rijal laid out the trenches in three places to the north and in two places to the west of Tilaurakot where the gateway complex, monastic remains and other important buildings of ancient Kapilavastu had already been uncovered.

Rijal named the excavated trenches TLK. North, md-1, md-2 and md-3. In TLK. North, md-1 he discovered two important features: an undisturbed stratigraphy and soakage jars, hitherto unknown in this region. (Due to a lack of drawings of the site, it is very difficult to locate the exact spot of the trenches.)

In TLK. North, md-2 was found a brick pavement of the Sunga period covering an area of 8′4″ east-west by 6′3″ north-south. The bricks are 13½″×8″×2″ in size and conspicuous by marked with a frog on the reverse.

TLK. North, md-3 bore no trace of any habitational deposit.

Rijal additionally reports that about 200 feet north-west of the western gateway complex of Tilaurakot there is an extensive ancient habitation site currently known as Shivagarh. P.C. Mukherji, in his report, had indicated the possibility of this area forming a monastic settlement. He noticed that this mound is thickly strewn with pottery and also contains terra-cotta ring-wells and structural remains extending almost to Deruwa village in the south and the Banganga River to the north.

Rijal collected beads, coins and other antiquities of the pre-Christian age from the surface. He reports that the local people were collecting antiquities from the surface even then during the rainy season. The present village of Shivagarh is situated right on the ancient ruins, and thus the modern habitation and cultivation are quickly encroaching on the ancient mound every year. Trenches were laid out towards the northern ridge of the mound. The excavation showed a clear stratification and yielded a hoard of 31 punch-marked silver coins and an extensive deposit of iron slag measuring about one foot thick, running north-south.

Chronology and stratification:

A. Fortified area of Tilaurakot

Rijal divided the human depositions within the fortified area into four periods.

Period I

Layers 9-10 yielding Painted Grey Ware and the associated red ware are assignable to Period I. The Painted Grey Ware of Tilaurakot differs from the P.G. ware of Hastinapur Period II only in the scheme and design of paintings. Therefore, the beginning of the occupation at the site may go back to around the 8th –7th century B.C.

Period II

Layers 7-8 are assignable to this period. Northern Black Polished Ware and the associated red ware come from its earlier phase, as in Hastinapur Period III. It was dated to around the 6th –5th century B.C.

Period III

This period, comprising layers 5-6, yielded mainly red ware associated with the Northern Black Polished Ware and a thick variety of grey ware. This is tentatively assignable to the Mauryan age.

Period IV

This period begins with the Sunga age and ends after the Kushana times. The layers assignable to these periods are 1- 4, and the pottery consists of mainly red ware and the black-slipped grey ware of a coarse variety.

B. Peripheral area of Tilaurakot (North)

The excavation of 1972-73 at the northern and western peripheral sites of the fortified area of Tilaurakot does not seem to have extended beyond the last phase of the Mauryan period. The deposit covers only one period, mainly of the Sunga age. The habitation deposit in the northern mound is 10 feet, which Rijal divided into six layers and grouped into three periods.

Period I

Within the late Mauryan period, layers 5-6 contain yellow earth similar to the natural soil. These layers yielded mainly red ware of a fine variety mixed occasionally with Northern Black Polished Ware and thick grey ware.

Period II

Layers 3-4 of the Sunga period display greenish yellow soil mixed with charcoal and charred rice, and pottery bearing mat-like impressions with a red or buff slip.

Period III

This period is of the early and late Kushana age. Layers 1-2 features blackish brown soil containing brickbats and a thick variety of red ware.

C. Peripheral area of Tilaurakot (West)

The excavation of the western periphery of Tilaurakot does not go back beyond the Mauryan period either. The habitation deposit measured 5′6″ and comprised of four layers beginning from the late Mauryan period and ending after the Kushana period.

Finds:

The finds according to Rijal's report are mainly pottery. They are from the late Mauryan, Sunga and Kushana periods. Except for the pottery the finds are primarily from the Sunga period.

Terracotta figurines:

Rijal collected altogether 22 terra-cotta figurines: six human and 16 animals. The human figurines represent both males and females. These figurines not only throw light on the artistic skills but also on the religious beliefs, culture and the fashion of the time with respect to dress, coiffure and jewellry. The animal figurines included horses, elephants, bulls and rams.

Coins:

Forty-six coins were collected from the excavations. Out of these, 32 were of silver and the rest were of copper. The silver coins were all punch-marked except one.

The copper coins were cast or die-struck and in a poor state of preservation except for two cases. The Kushana kings Kanishka and Huvishka issued these latter coins. The earlier coin has on the obverse the king standing facing left and offering oblations to a fire altar. On the reverse is a two-armed standing deity. The later coin has again on the obverse the king standing, and the reverse is the same as the former coin. Six of the remaining copper coins bear the symbol of the four-spoke wheel. Layers 1-4 yielded these coins and were dated to the Sunga-Kushana periods.

The most remarkable discovery was a hoard of 31 silver punch-marked coins found in a trench at Sivagarh situated on the western periphery of Tilaurakot. These coins are all well preserved and bear a variety of popular punch-marked symbol such as the sun, six-armed symbols, crescent-on-hill, hare-on-hill, bull, elephant and caduceus. These coins according to Rijal appear to be of pre-Mauryan date. There were 15 coins, which were square or rectangular in shape and dumpy and thick in fabric but relatively fresh. The coins bear Mauryan symbols, including the crescent-on-hill and the triple gate. The remaining eight coins were of medium fabric and circular in shape and appear to be late Mauryan. A rectangular punch-marked coin with a thin-to-medium fabric also belongs to the Mauryan period.

Rijal concluded: "The presence of various coins in the successive cultural deposits shows a comfortable urban life with sound economic base marked by organized trade and commerce."

Conservation:

The twin stupas excavated by the Department of Archaeology in 1968-69 at Dhamnihawa have been conserved. The stupas according to Rijal are an important spot connected with the life of the Buddha and are traditionally believed to have been built to commemorate Suddhodana and Mayadevi, his parents. The larger one is devoted to Suddhodana, and the smaller one to Mayadevi. But there is not a single reference in Buddhist literature to support this assumption. (Rijal, 60-69: 1973).

Babu Krishna Rijal and his team excavated the fortified mound of Tilaurakot again in the years 1973-74.

According to his report, "the total exposed area was 3,100 square feet. The main area of excavation was on Mound V of Tilaurakot, practically in the heart of the site. The excavation was investigative in nature, the diggings extending to the peripheral mounds outside Tilaurakot. The cultural deposits outside Tilaurakot were confined to the Sunga and Kushana periods."

Rijal conserved the palace complex (?) on Mound VII, which was excavated by the Department of Archaeology and Rissho University, Japan._(Skt. 3) He exposed an area of 2,700 square feet at Mound V of Tilaurakot. The structures at the site ranged from the Mauryan to the Kushana period. The excavation at the centre was to check any connection with the structures of Mound VII.

He noticed the remains of mud structures- a wall and two circular platforms- belonging to the Mauryan period to the east side of the centre of the excavated part, at depth of 11 feet from the ground level.

At the north edge of the mound he observed some Sunga structures, including two adjacent chambers with a circular brick-well not far from a paved bathroom connected with a drain. He found another Sunga building overlaid by a Kushana structure lying on the western side of the mound and displaying a profuse use of post-holes.

The Kushana structures were constructed with bricks and brickbats obtained from earlier structures. Both structures were mostly brick-paved floors.

Rijal laid out some trenches outside of the fortified area of Tilaurakot towards the west, south and south-west to check the extension of the ancient habitation deposits. The results of the excavation were the same as the previous year's excavation.

Antiquities:
Nearly three hundred antiquities were collected during the excavation, mostly from the Sunga and Kushana periods. The finds includes male and female trrra-cotta figurines, toy-cart wheels, seals and sealing of terra-cotta, copper coins and miscellaneous metal objects including iron nails and copper antimonyrod; in addition, beads and bangles of varied materials, such as pottery, glass, conchshells and semiprecious stones.

a. Terra-cotta human figurines
Rijal describes the eight representative pieces of human figurines found from the excavation. (i) At a depth of 10′ in layer 6 he found the moulded figure of a standing mother-goddess preserved down to the bust. (ii) Below 6′ 10″ in layer 5, the bust of a cast female figure, possibly a mother-goddess, was found. (iii) A handmade hollow head representing a smiling face with well-

modelled features including pinched eyebrows, a nose and lips was collected from layer 3 at a depth of 1′ 3″. (iv) A crude hand made miniature head crowned by a crest-like projection was lying in layer 3 below 3′ 5″ The remaining four figurines are from the upper level of the mound, layers 1 and 2.

b. Terra-cotta animal figurines

There is no mention of the number of terra-cotta figurines found in the excavation, but Rijal has given descriptions of some of the important specimens. (i) From layer 6 at a depth of 7′ 6″ he collected a humped bull figurine with the hind part and muzzle intact. Its right ear is broken, and the horns and legs are mutilated. Then upper body is stamped with five circular punches and is dated in the Sunga period. (ii) A handmade duck-shaped hollow toy with bulging belly was found. Pair of holes was meant for string for pulling it. (iii) A head of an elephant figurine with a damaged trunk and ears was collected from layer 3 at a depth of 3′.

Other finds:

There were Sunga and Kushana toy cartwheels both plain and decorated collected from the excavation.

Some ornamental antiquities like beads, bangles and antimony rods were also found. The terra-cotta beads were of different shapes for examples ghata, areca nut and barrel. The remaining beads were made either of glass or semiprecious stone. Bangles were made of either glass or terra-cotta (Rijal, 41-45: 1974).

The book (1979) written by Rijal *ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF KAPILAVASTU LUMBINI DEVADAHA* exhibits a structural plan of the exposed structures in TLK. Mound V. According to him, "the most remarkable achievement of the work of the season (1974-75) was to get a clear-cut sequence of culture beginning from the Painted Grey Ware phase to the period of Kushana. The chronology found in TLK. Md.V in Tilaurakot can be divided into five periods and thirteen layers of human depositions." (Skt. 4)

Period I

He found in layers 10-13 the sequence of Painted Grey Ware and the associated painted red ware, which are similar to Period II of Hastinapur except for difference in the design and scheme of paintings. There is not a single shard of Northern Black Polished Ware from these layers. He assigned Period I in Tilaurakot to at least the 11th-8th century B.C.

Period II

Layers 8-9 yielded a large number of fine grey ware and associated red ware, mixed sometimes with Northern Black Polished Ware. This phase is equivalent to the Period III of Hastinapur and datable to the 6th-5th century B.C.

Period III

Layers 6-7 are datable to the Mauryan period. The pottery of this period is mainly Northern Black Polished Ware and a thick variety of Grey Ware and associated red ware. Terra-cotta seals with Brahmi inscriptions from the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. were found in these layers.

Period IV

Layers 4-5 comprising mainly red ware, are datable to the Sunga period. This period is marked by brick architectural activities and produced many terracotta figurines of the typical Sunga type. The sealing layer of this phase employed both brick and brickbats quarried from here for building purposes.

Period V

Layers 1-3 are assignable to the Kushana period. The pottery in this period is very scarce and consists mainly of red ware and black slipped grey ware of a coarse variety. Extensive brick-paved floors, and parallel blocks of wall divided by lanes and alleys distinguish structures of this phase. Some of the structures of this period are noticeable even on the surface. A large numbers of small coins with spoke marks on one side are found these layers.

He gives descriptions of some of the important artifacts collected from the excavation as follows:

A. Sakya token from Tilaurakot:

A terra-cotta token containing the legend *Sa-ka-na-sya* (meaning "The token belonged to the Sakya") in late Asokan Brahmi script was discovered by the archaeological team of Rissho University, Japan, during the cleaning of the Md.VII at Tilaurakot. Based on this token Rijal inferred "the occupation of the site by the Sakya as late as up to the second or first century B.C." (Pl. 3)

B. Coinage, seals and sealing:

The discovery of several seals, sealing tokens with the legends *Negama, Negameya, Jetha-kichakama, Davilasa,* and *Sa-ka-na-sya,* and multiple hoards of ancient coinage of different varieties attest to a systematized trade and organized trading corporations. (Pl. 4) The excavations in Tilaurakot after 1962 A.D. encountered nearly three thousand coins dating at least from the 5th to 2nd century B.C. Many silver and copper varieties are featured.

C. Terracotta figurines from Tilaurakot:

There is no mention of the number of terra-cotta figurines found in the excavation at Tilaurakot. As Rijal writes,

> The antiquities excavated in the realm of Kapilavastu *viz.* Tilaurakot since 1962 were brought to the premises of the Department of Archaeology in Singh Darbar but gutted in the disastrous fire which occurred in the month of July 1973 A.D. The paper documents of archaeological value were turned into ashes. However, a good number of various antiquities were salvaged. Some of the terra-cotta figurines, though burnt, discoloured or partly damaged, still retain their original features. These specimens provide the cultural achievements of the Sakyas residing in Tilaurakot beginning from pre-Mauryan times to the period of the Kushana.

Some of the figurines illustrated in his book are following:

(i) Female busts, pre-Mauryan period
(ii) Female busts, Mauryan period
(iii) Terracotta plaques of the Sunga period
(iv) Male heads of the Kushana Period (Rijal, 33-46: 1979).

Japanese Archaeological Team at Tilaurakot:

A Nepalese/Japanese joint archaeological team carried out excavations at Mound VII in Tilaurakot from 1967 to 1977. (Skt. 5) The team leader of this excavation, Zuiryu Nakamura states in his Explanatory Notes: "The report consists of three volumes in the first issue. Two volumes of the first issue contain the excavation report on the Mound VII of the Tilaurakot Ruins. The first one is the text and the second the plates and the last volume contains the excavation report of Mound II at the Tilaurakot ruins and its conclusion." The catalogue volume II of the report was published in 1978, while volume I appeared only in 2000. The second volume consists of photographs and drawings of the artifacts from Mound VII. The first volume is in the Japanese language.

The significant finds of this joint team have thrown new light on the prosperous metropolitan life and the great cultural achievements of the Sakyas who resided at the site up to the end of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

In the excavation of 1970-71, the team discovered a hoard of more than 2,200 inscribed copper coins dating from the 2nd -1st century B.C. to 2nd -3rd century A.D.

Rijal identified many of these coins and grouped them as below:

1.	Indo-Bactrian coins of Apollodotos	2
2.	Panchala type coins of Agnimitra	2
3.	Ayodhya coins of cock-and-bull type	379
4.	Kushana coins of Wima Kadphises	428
5.	Coins of Kanishka	1,224
6.	Coins of Huvishka	152

On the Ayodhya-type coins, the names of Ayumitra and Satyamitra are written on the obverse. Of 1,224 coins of the Kushana emperor Kanishka, 276 are of the Vato type, o106 of the Shiva type, 17 of the Mitra type, ten of the Nanaiya type, 11 of the Athsho type, three of the Buddha type, nine of the Helios type (small sizes), five of the Nana type (small sizes), and 782 are of mixed types.

Coins of the Kushana king Huvishka number 152 of which 74 are of the king-on-elephant type, 50 of the king-on-couch type, and 28 of the king-on-lotus type (Rijal, 44: 1974).

The team leader clarified the outcome of the excavation as follows: We decided to dig out the seventh mound that belonged to the northern part of this site. We got the result that structures built in the Sunga-Kushana Period were detected from this mound. As the result of this detection, we could make it clear that the site went back from the N.B.P. Age to the Neolithic Age. We had some helpful suggestions for our thinking of Tilaurakot's characteristic when we excavated some earthenware that resemble objects of the N.B.P. Age.

According to our investigation, we think that the structures in the early Maurya Age are the oldest, and the Maurya Age can date back to the Sunga Age from the Kushana Age.

We excavated the large quantity of earthenware, many kinds and quantities of coins, stones, coppers, tins and many other goods including the statues of terra-cotta.

We dug the second hills in a small scale, too. The construction of a castle on the hill belonged to the same age as those from the Maurya to Kushana Age. The members of Nepal Archaeology Office had a plan for their preservation and arrangement of structures, but those two mounds were left without being dug out from the lowest layer on the ground (Nakamura, 252: 2000).

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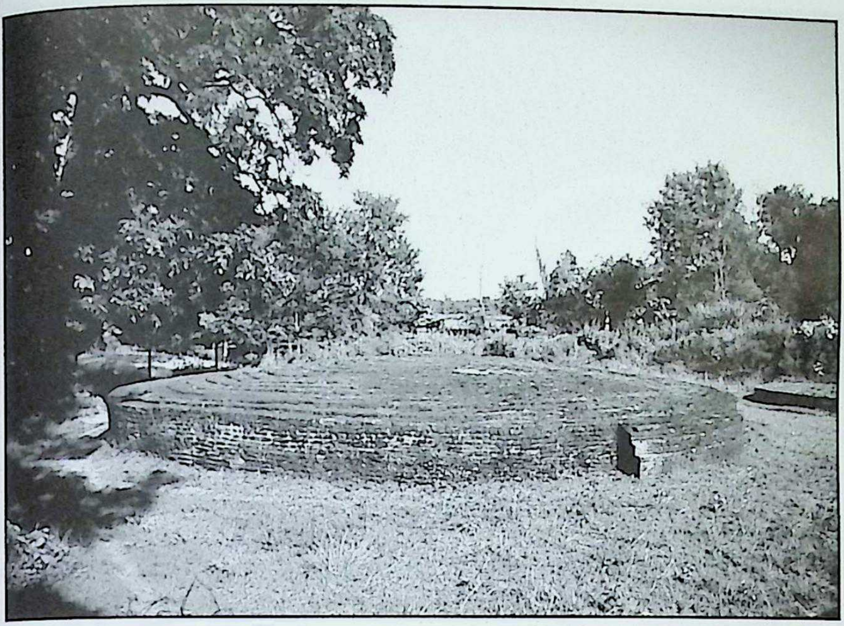
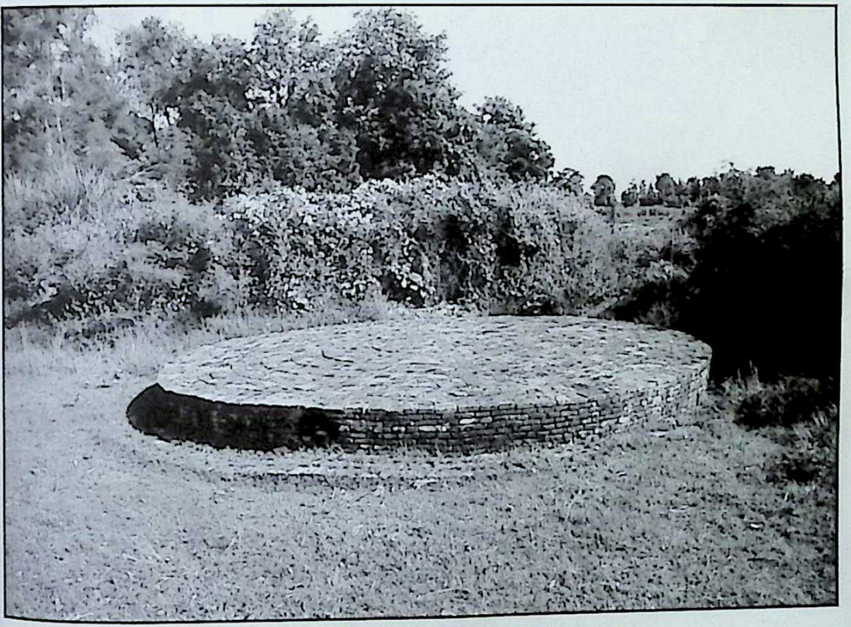
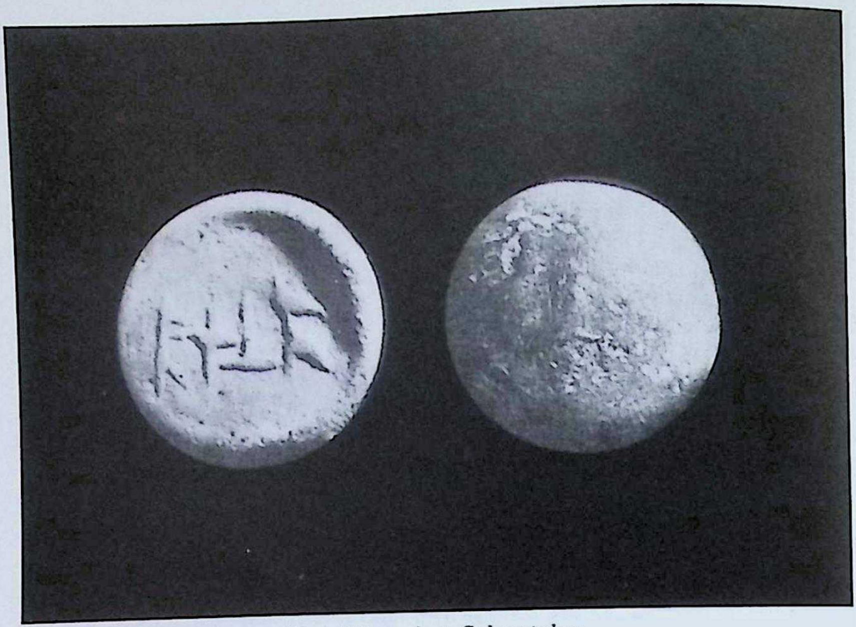


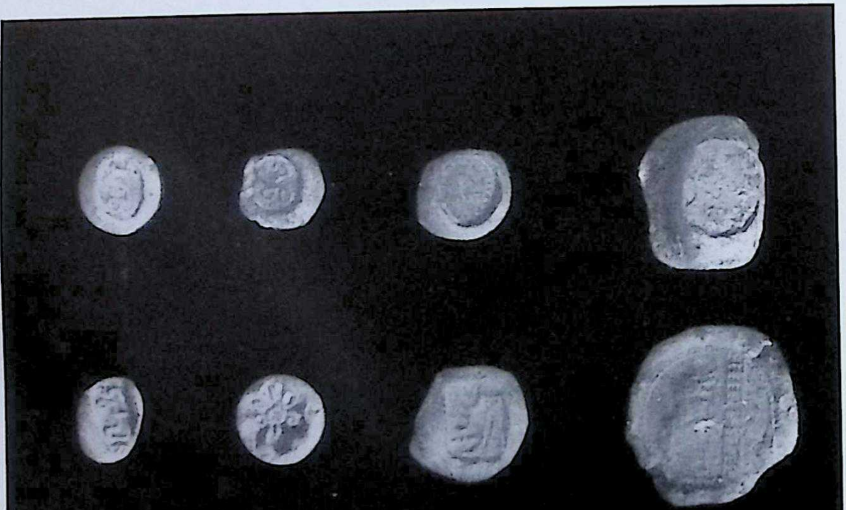
Pl. 1 *Dhamnihawa: big stupa*



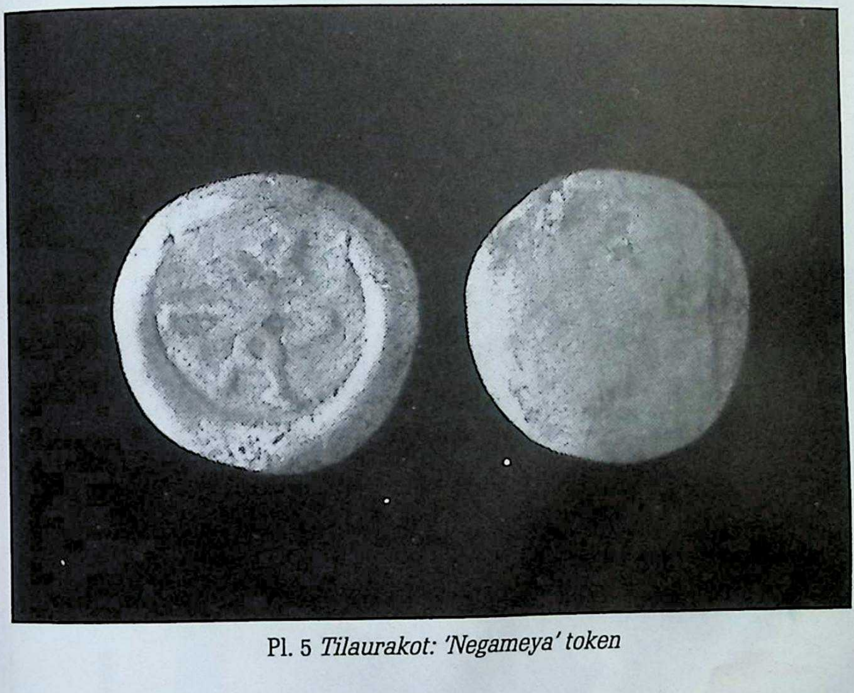
Pl. 2 *Dhamnihawa: small stupa*



Pl. 3 *Tilaurakot: Sakya token*

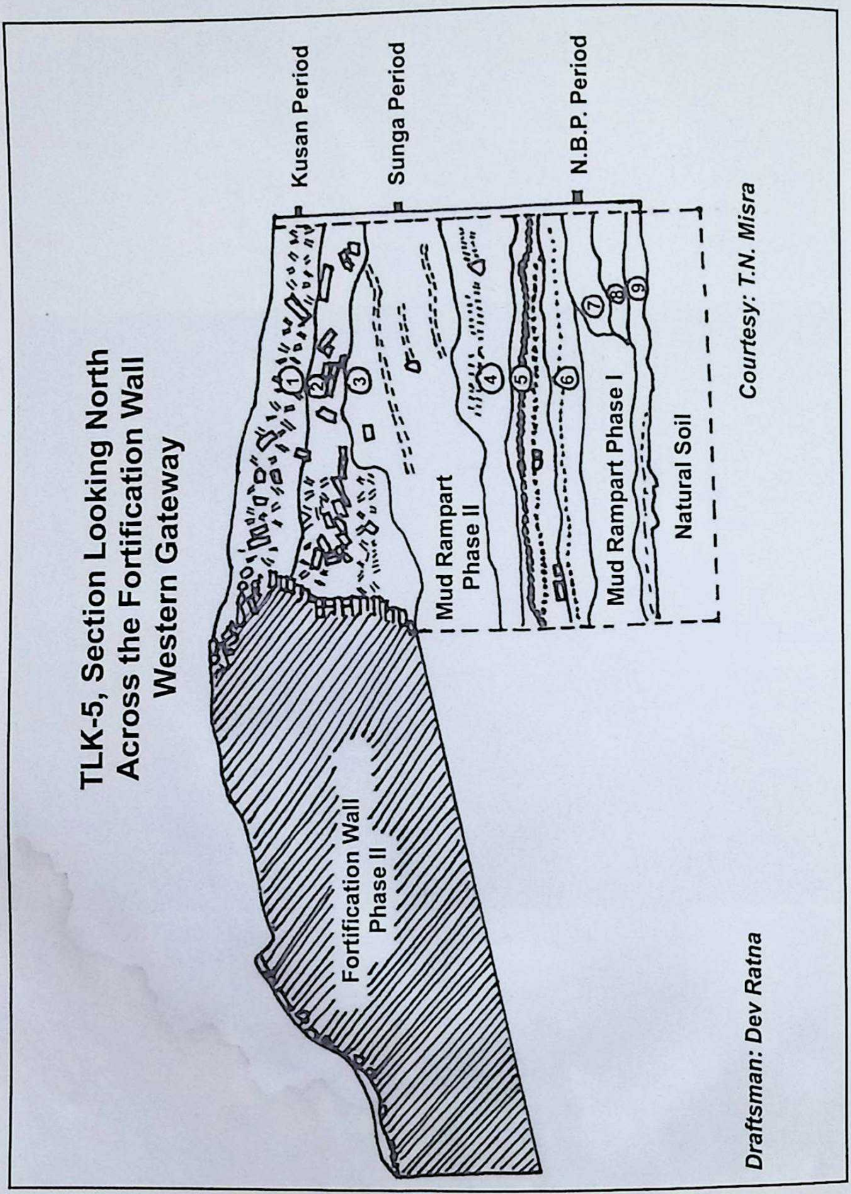


Pl. 4 *Tilaurakot: terra-cotta sealings*



Pl. 5 *Tilaurakot: 'Negameya' token*

Skt. 1


TLK-5, Section Looking North Across the Fortification Wall Western Gateway

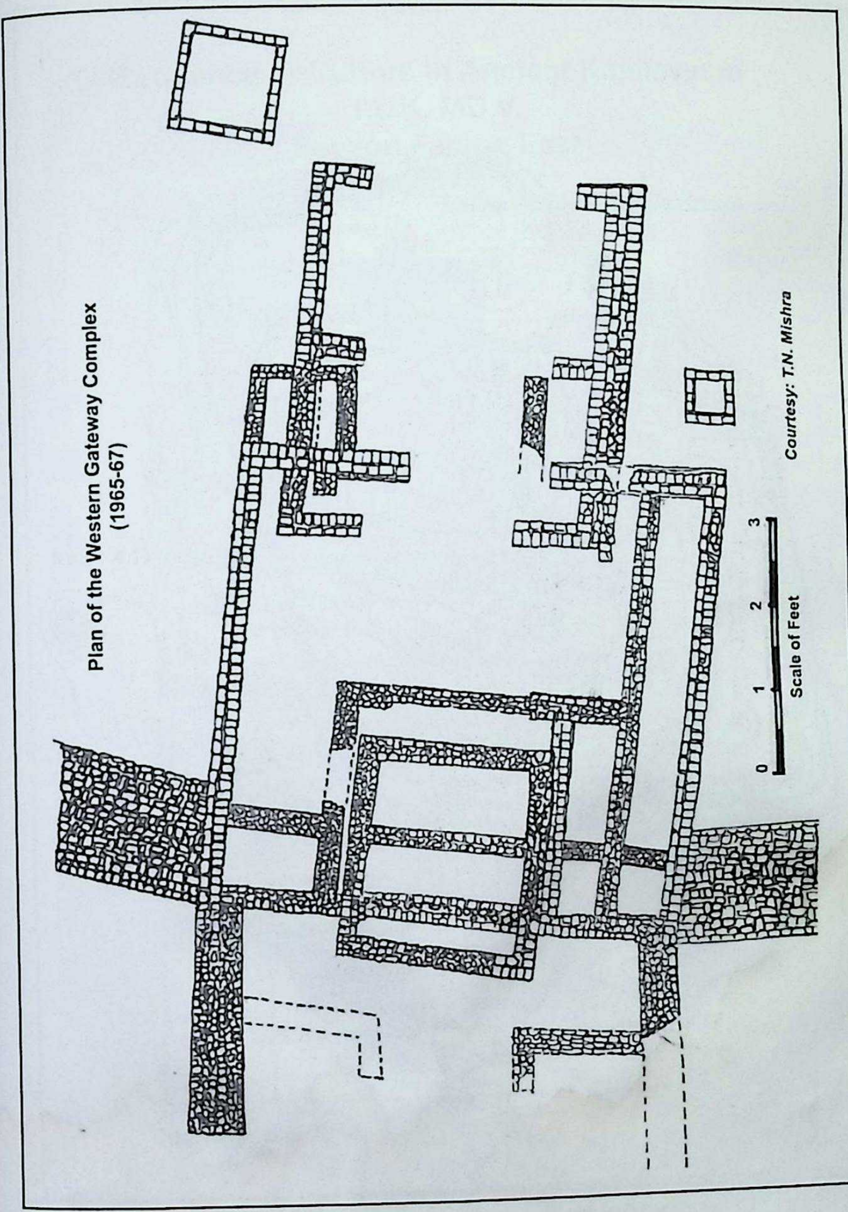
Kusan Period
Sunga Period
N.B.P. Period
①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
⑦
⑧
⑨
Mud Rampart Phase II
Mud Rampart Phase I
Natural Soil
Fortification Wall Phase II

Courtesy: T.N. Misra

Draftsman: Dev Ratna

Tilaurakot, section of the western gate 1967-72

Skt. 2



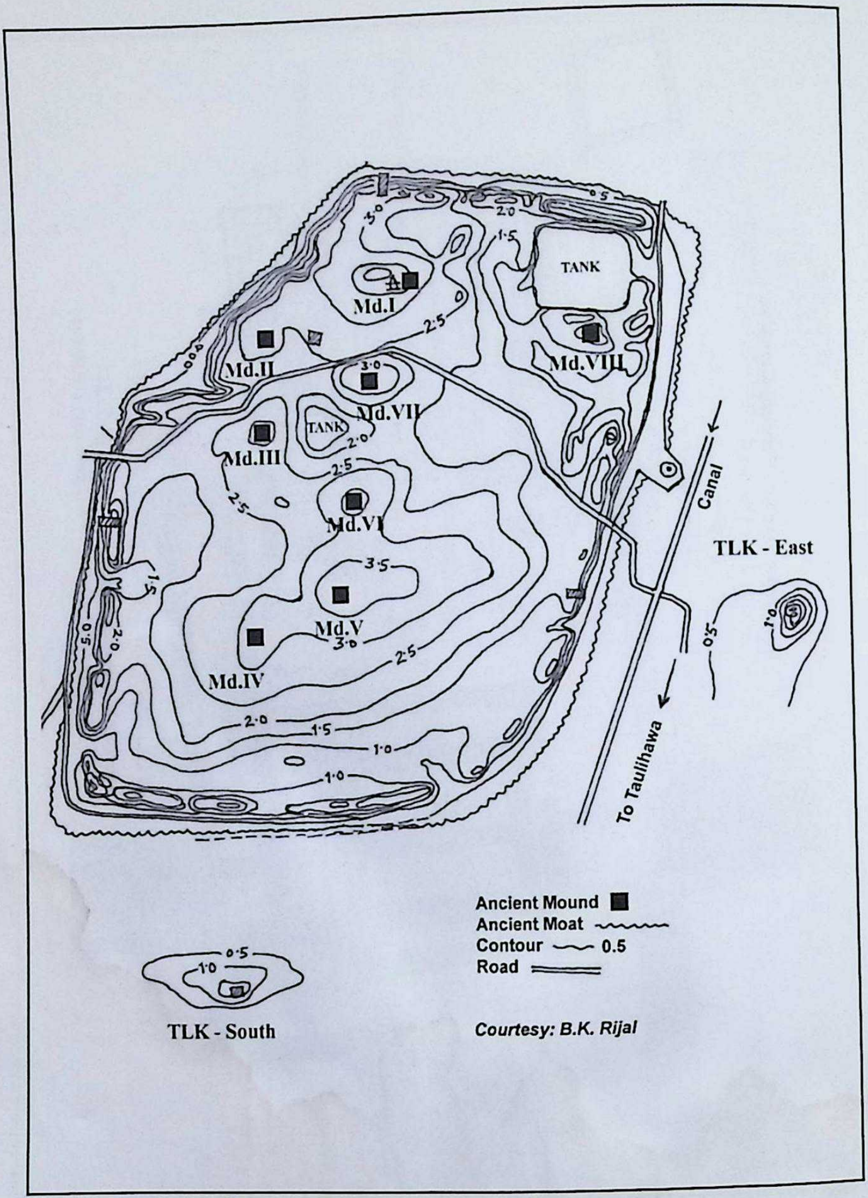
Plan of the Western Gateway Complex
(1965-67)

Courtesy: T.N. Mishra

0
1
2
3
Scale of Feet

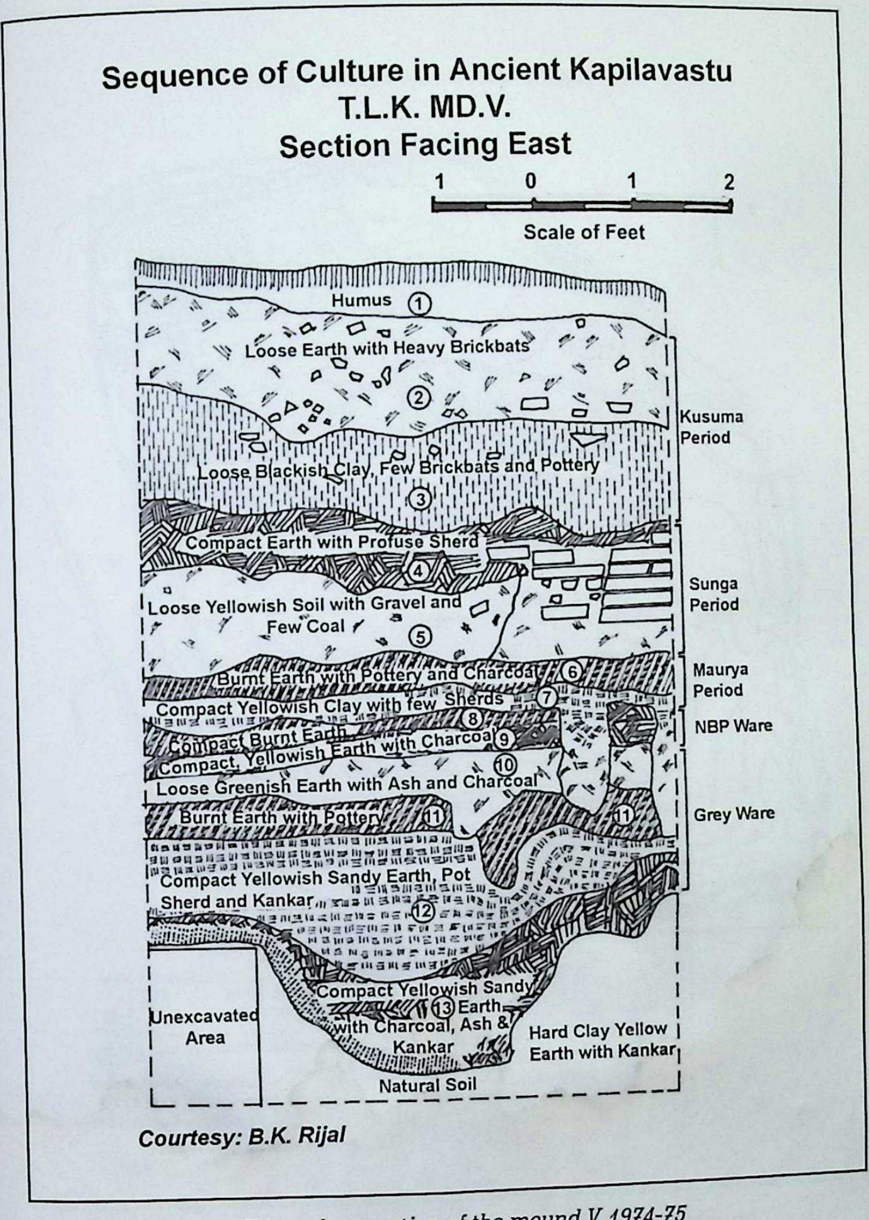
Tilaurakot, plan of western gate

Skt. 3


TANK
Md.I
Md.II
Md.VII
Md.VIII
TANK
Md.III
Md.VI
Md.V
Md.IV
3·0
2·0
1·5
2·5
3·5
1·0
0·5
5·0
Canal
TLK - East
To Taulihawa
TLK - South
Ancient Mound ■
Ancient Moat
Contour 0.5
Road
Courtesy: B.K. Rijal

Tilaurakot, excavated pits 1974

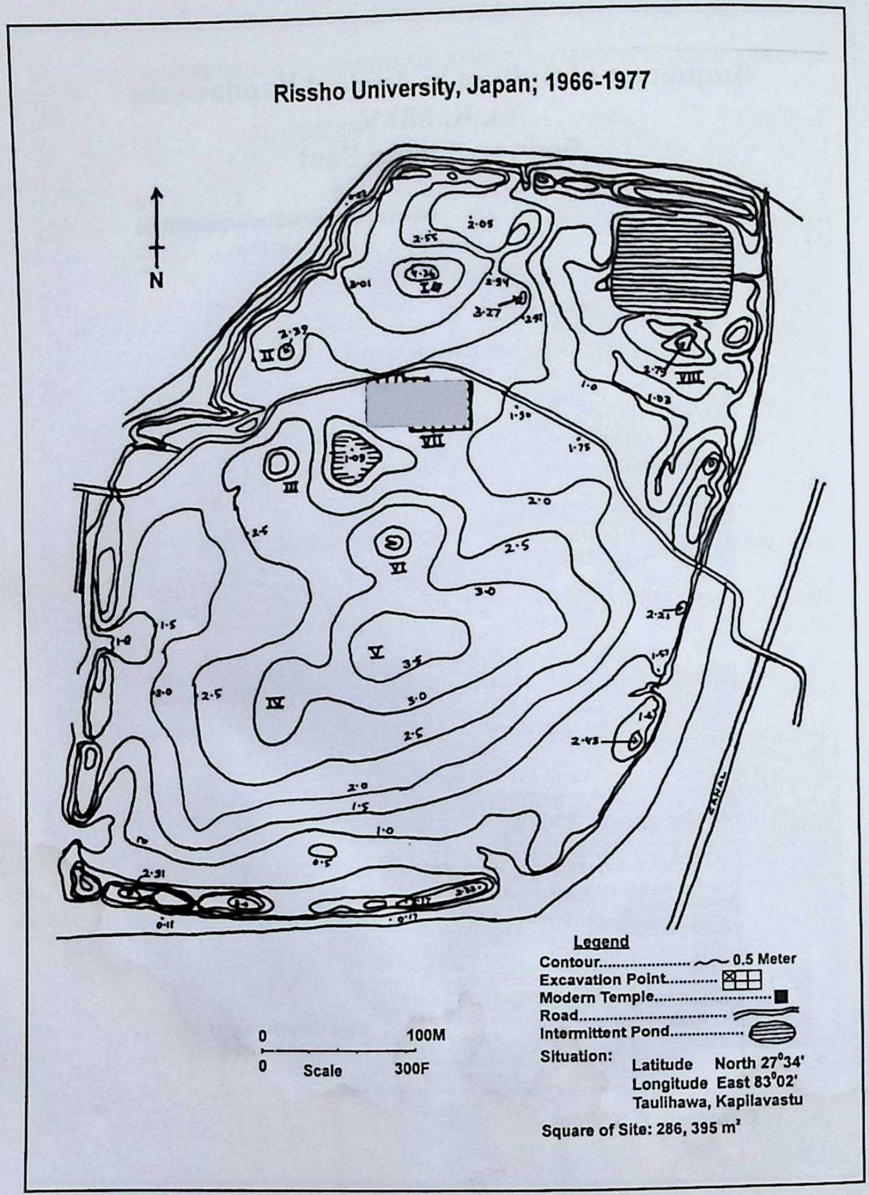
Skt. 4


Sequence of Culture in Ancient Kapilavastu
T.L.K. MD.V.
Section Facing East
1 0 1 2
Scale of Feet
Humus ①
Loose Earth with Heavy Brickbats
②
Loose Blackish Clay, Few Brickbats and Pottery
③
Compact Earth with Profuse Sherd
④
Loose Yellowish Soil with Gravel and Few Coal
⑤
Burnt Earth with Pottery and Charcoal ⑥
Compact Yellowish Clay with few Sherds ⑦
⑧
Compact Burnt Earth
Compact, Yellowish Earth with Charcoal ⑨
⑩
Loose Greenish Earth with Ash and Charcoal
Burnt Earth with Pottery ⑪
⑪
Compact Yellowish Sandy Earth, Pot Sherd and Kankar
⑫
Compact Yellowish Sandy ⑬ Earth with Charcoal, Ash & Kankar
Unexcavated Area
Hard Clay Yellow Earth with Kankar
Natural Soil
Kusuma Period
Sunga Period
Maurya Period
NBP Ware
Grey Ware

Courtesy: B.K. Rijal

Tilaurakot, section of the mound V, 1974-75

Skt. 5


Rissho University, Japan; 1966-1977
N
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
2.05
2.55
4.26
3.01
2.94
3.27
2.91
2.39
2.75
1.0
1.03
1.30
1.75
1.09
2.0
2.5
3.0
3.5
2.21
1.57
1.4
2.45
1.5
1.0
0.5
2.31
0.11
0.17
CANAL
Legend
Contour 0.5 Meter
Excavation Point
Modern Temple
Road
Intermittent Pond
0 100M
0 Scale 300F
Situation: Latitude North 27°34'
Longitude East 83°02'
Taulihawa, Kapilavastu
Square of Site: 286, 395 m²

Tilaurakot, excavated area of Rissho University, Japan 1967-77

Basanta Bidari
Lumbini, Rupandehi, Nepal
E-mail: asokanpillar@yahoo.com

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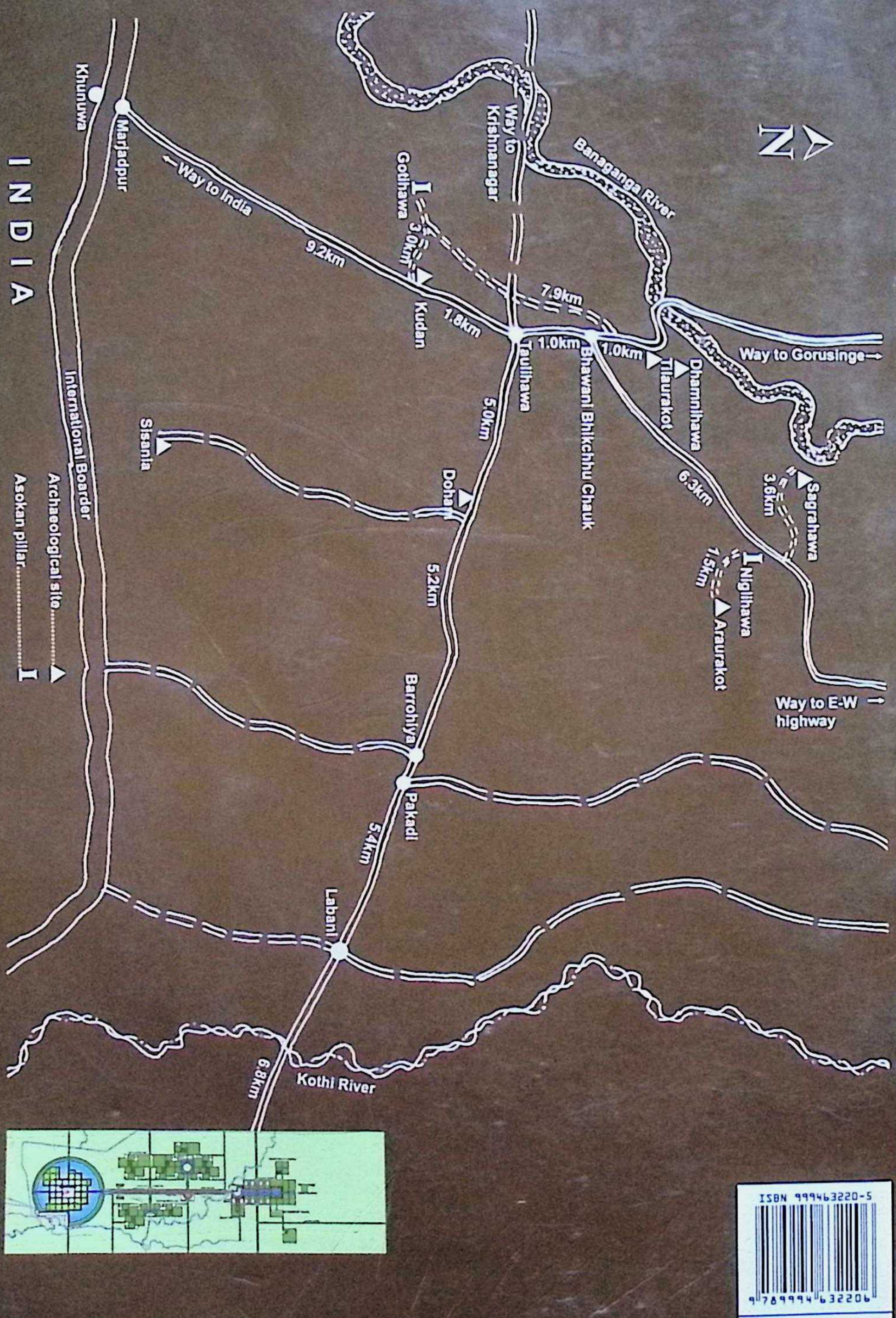
INDIA
Khunuwa
Marjadpur
← Way to India
9.2km
International Boarder
Archaeological site
Asokan pillar
Gotihawa
3.0km
Kudan
1.8km
Way to Krishnanagar
7.9km
Taulihawa
1.0km
Bhawani Bhikchhu Chauk
1.0km
Tilaurakot
Dhamnihawa
Banaganga River
N
Way to Gorusinge →
5.0km
Sisania
Dohani
6.3km
Sagrahawa
3.6km
Niglihawa
1.5km
Araurakot
Way to E-W highway →
5.2km
Barrohiya
Pakadi
5.4km
Labani
Kothi River
6.8km

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